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HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE
IN INDIA & THE EAST

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पुस्तकालय

विषय संख्या R 934
पुस्तक संख्या L84H
आगत पंजिका संख्या V.1

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गुरुकुल विश्वविद्यालय
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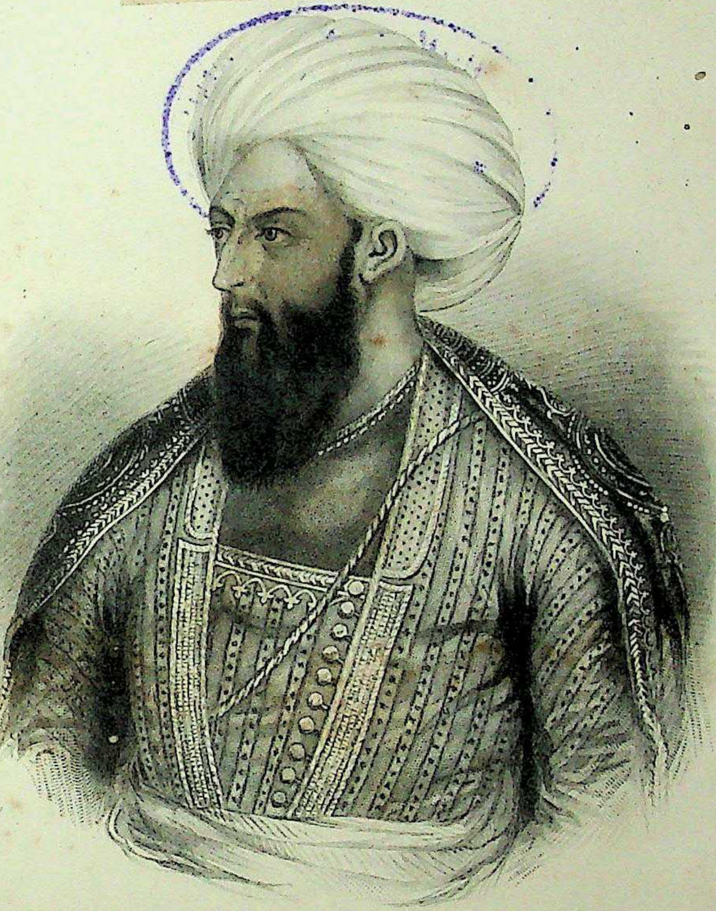

DOST MOHAMED KHAN.

From a Drawing by an Indian Artist

LONDON: JAMES S. VIRTUE

1973
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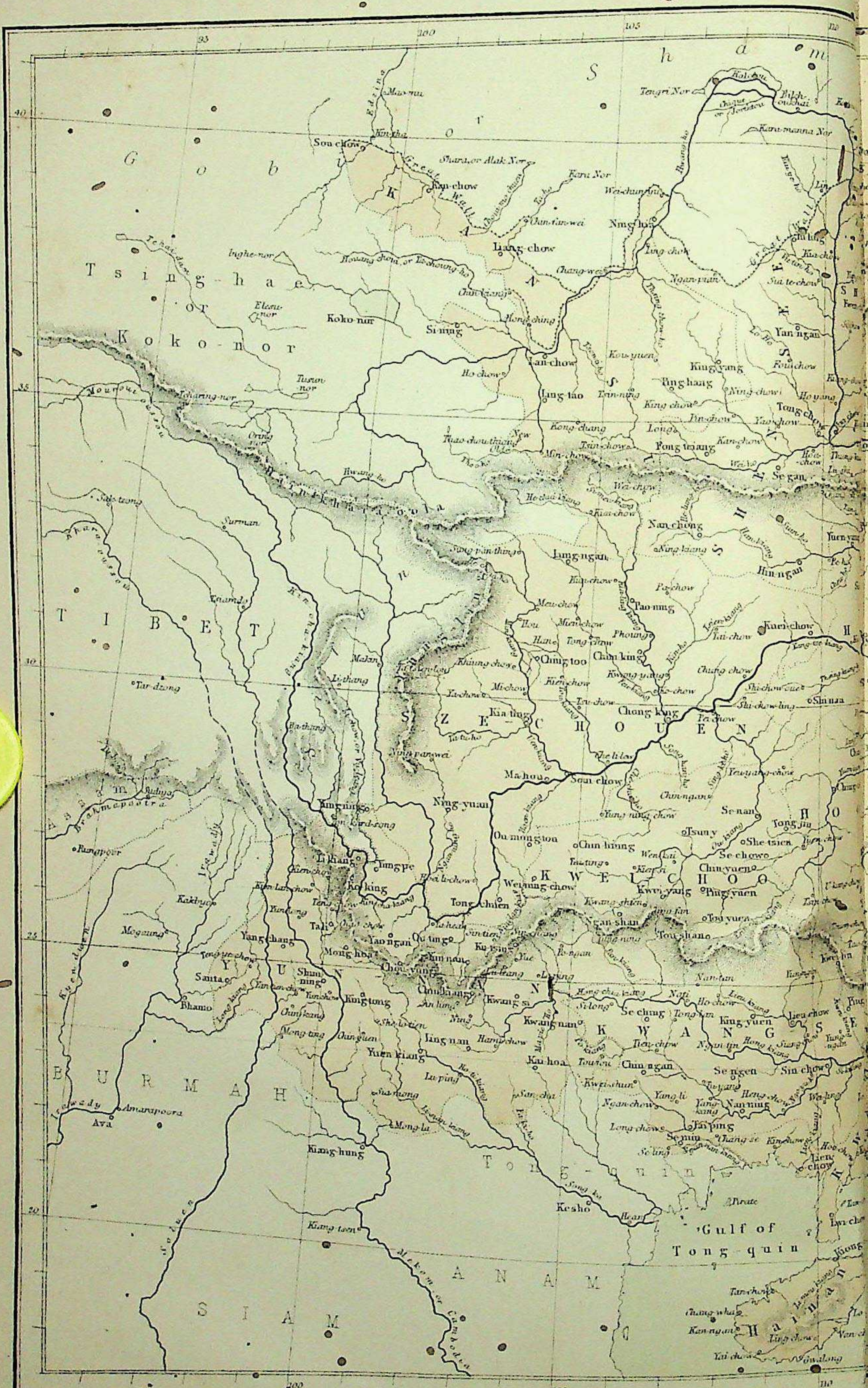
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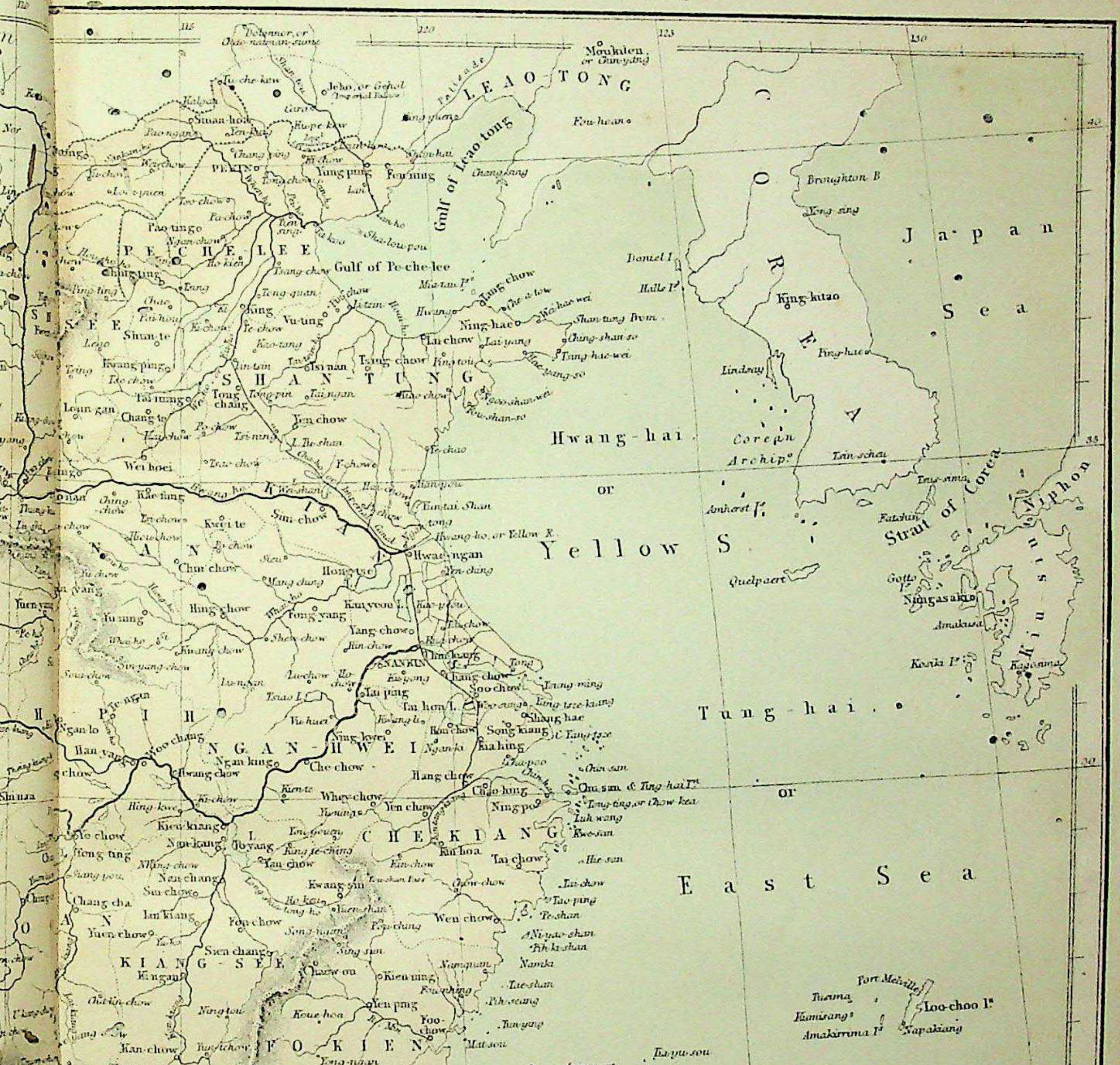
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Yung ping
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Chang-lang
Tien sing
Tsing hai
Sha-lou-pou
Pao-ting
PE-CHE-LEE
Ho kien
Tsang-chow
Gulf of Pe-che-lee
Miatau Ids
Tang-chow
Hwang-hien
Ning-hae
Wei-hae-wei
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Lai-yang
Tsing chow
King tou
Tsi nan
Tai ngan
SHAN-TUNG
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Chao-chow
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CANTON
Whampoa
Macao
Hong-kong
Lintin
Namoa
Pescadores
Channel of Formosa
Formosa, or Tai-wan
Taiwan
Ke-Long Harb.
S. Cape
Vele Rete
Botel Tobago
Little Botel
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Bashee Is.
Babuyan Is.
Calayan
Clare
Fuga
Camiguin
C. Bojador
Pt. Engano
Luzon
Pratas
CHINA SEA
Majico-sima Is.
Ty-pin-san
Pa-chung-san
Sandy I.
Providence Reef
Hoa-pin-sin
Tiaoyu-sou
Agincourt
Pinnacle Gp.
Tropic of Cancer
Loo-choo Is.
Port Melville
Napakiang
Tusima
Kumisang
Amakirrima Is.
East Sea
Tung-hai
or
Yellow Sea
Hwang-hai
Quelpaert
Amherst Is.
Corean Archipo.
Lindsay
Tsin-schau
King-kitao
Ping-hae
COREA
Broughton B.
Yong-sing
Basil I.
Hall Is.
Japan Sea
Strait of Corea
Tsus-sima
Fatshin
Gotto Is.
Nangasaki
Amakusa
Kosiki Is.
Kagosima
Kiu-siu
Niphon
Chusan
Tai-shan
Yu-shan
Tae-chow
Tae-ping
Namki
Matsou

पुस्तकालय 49537
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
हरिद्वार

The King of Turkistan threatened the destruction of the caliphate, but by the courage and skill of his troops the caliph supported the throne, and the defeated Turks were successfully expelled the invaded provinces A.D. 997.

On the demise of this prince his son Ishmael was raised to the throne, in obedience to his father's injunctions; but Mahmood, who had already gained great military renown while assisting in the war with the King of Turkistan, took up arms against his brother, and effectually asserted his rights as the elder born.

The occasional glimpses which history affords of the presence of the followers of the Arab prophet in India are meagre and unsatisfactory, furnishing few materials for narrative or the higher historical attributes. With the reign of Mahmood commences the eleventh century, and the opening chapter of what can be properly called the Mohammedan history of India. On the foundation which had been so recently laid by his active predecessors, whose newly-constructed empire had not yet had time for consolidation, he erected a superstructure which has survived many fierce agitations, and did not crumble by those fierce perturbations, the effects of the terrible convulsions which have agitated, destroyed, and modelled many of the institutions of Hindostan. The kingdom of the Samanides was abolished, and public prayers for his safety were substituted in the services of the mosques for those previously offered for the family of the royal masters of his progenitors. Irak Persia submitted to his yoke, and from the Caspian to the Ganges, from Transoxiana to the neighbourhood of Ispahan, he was the only ruler.

His first expedition towards India was made in the autumn of the year A.D. 1000, having just previously proceeded from Balk to Herat, and thence to Siestan, where he defeated the governor of that province, and returned to Ghizni. The result of the Indian expedition was that he captured many forts and provinces, in which he placed garrisons, and then returned to his capital, and directed all his attention to the internal arrangement of his dominions, the organization of its civil and criminal jurisprudence, and the development of its resources. He then entered into an alliance with Elik Khan, the ruler of Turkistan, who had recently acquired possession of the territory of Bokhara. Having completed those arrangements at home, he again turned his thoughts to India, and twelve months from the date of his first approach to that country he proceeded with ten thousand chosen horse to Peshawur, and was there encountered by the Rajah of Lahore, at the head of an army composed of forty-two thousand horse and foot, supported by three hundred elephants. Though the armies were so disproportionate, victory declared in favour of Mahmood. The rajah, with fifteen of his principal chiefs—his sons and brethren—was taken prisoner, and five thousand of his troops were left on the field of battle. Mahmood in this action acquired a rich booty. Among the spoils were sixteen necklaces, one of which was valued at £81,000. The following spring he released his prisoners on payment of a large ransom, and submitting to become tributary to him. In compliance with a custom then prevalent among the Hindoos, that whatever rajah was twice defeated by strangers should abdicate, the unfortunate chief of Lahore surrendered his crown to his son; and having ordered the erection of a funeral pile, he set fire to it with his own hand, and voluntarily expired in the flames.

In the year 1004 he marched into Hindostan to enforce the tributes previously imposed, and which had not been paid. Passing through the province of Mooltan, he arrived at a city which Ferishta calls Bhateca, but which his English translator, Briggs, confesses his inability to identify. The Hindoos fought with great bravery, and frequently repulsed their assailants with great slaughter. The latter, however, as repeatedly renewed the assault till the close of the day, when Mahmood, turning his face towards the city of the Prophet, implored his aid. "Forward! forward!" cried the enthusiastic chief, "our prayers have found favour with God." The troops caught the inspiration, and with a loud shout manifested their resolution and promptitude, and with impetuous ardour breasted the foe, impinged their ranks, broke their lines, forced them to flight, and pursued them to the gates of the city. The Hindoos evacuated the town, leaving a small garrison in the fortress, and retired to a wood on the banks of the Indus, where, being attacked, the rajah on the point of being made prisoner, fell on his sword, and most of his adherents shared his fate in endeavouring to avenge his fall. Two hundred and eighty elephants were among the spoil.

The following year the King of Mooltan revolted, and was supported by Anundpaul, the successor of the Rajah of Lahore, who detached the greater part of his force to Peshawur, where it suffered a signal defeat, and was pursued to Wuzeerabad, on the left bank of the Chenab. Anundpaul was forced to fly for refuge to Cashmere. The Rajah of Mooltan, his ally, thus defeated, submitted, and agreed to the payment of a large annual tribute, and to yield implicit obedience in future. This speedy termination of the campaign was an agreeable circumstance to Mahmood, for he had then learned from the governor of Herat that Elik Khan, the King of Kashgar, had invaded his northern provinces. Having left Zab Sais—a Hindoo who had embraced the Mohammedan religion—his lieutenant or governor in India, he marched to repel the invaders.

A short period had passed since Mahmood had formed an alliance with Elik Khan, and cemented it by marrying his daughter. The result of the invasion was that a decisive battle was fought, in which the Tartar invaders were signally defeated; and one of the interesting incidents of which was that the elephant on which Mahmood was mounted, being led by his royal master to a personal encounter with Elik Khan, the well-trained animal, seizing the standard-bearer of the enemy in his trunk, tossed him aloft in the air. The Ghizny troops bravely supported their king, rushing in with headlong impetuosity, and driving the enemy with great slaughter before them. Elik Khan, defeated on all sides, crossed the river with a few of his surviving attendants, and never afterwards appeared in the field during Mahmood's reign. Though the weather was inclement, Mahmood, eager to crush for ever the discomfited and dispirited refugee, decided, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of his best trusted officers, to pursue him in his flight. It was the depth of winter, and the soldiers were unable to endure the fatigues of the march, aggravated by the severity of the season. On the third night of the pursuit a storm of wind and snow overtook them in the unsheltered wilds. The royal tents with great difficulty were pitched and made secure, while the army was unprotected. A number of stoves were brought into the king's tents, and became so heated, that many of the courtiers began to throw off their upper garments, when a facetious chief came in shivering with cold, the king, observing him, and addressing him by name, exclaimed, "Dilchuck, go out, and tell Winter that he may burst his cheeks with blustering, for here we defy his power." Dilchuck went out as ordered, and returning in a short time, thus addressed his master: "I have delivered the king's message to Winter, but the surly fellow replies that if his hands cannot reach the skirts of royalty, nor hurt his suite, yet will this night prove to the army the mighty power he possesses, and in the morning Mahmood may be necessitated to saddle his own horse." This courtier-like rebuke produced a salutary effect. The king reflected seriously on the condition of his troops, the risks to which they were being exposed, and he resolved to proceed no farther; and, indeed, in the morning some hundreds of men and horses were found to have perished from the cold.

About this time Mahmood had information that the Hindoo renegade whom he had left in care of his Indian possessions had returned to his early superstitions, and had expelled the officers appointed by the king. To punish this revolt in the bud, he marched with the greatest expedition towards India, and sent on before him a body of cavalry, who came unexpectedly on Zab Sais, defeated him, and made him prisoner. The rebel was compelled to pay the sum of four hundred thousand dirhems, and was kept in confinement during the remainder of his life.

He had not been many months returned to Ghizni, when he determined to proceed to India, in order to chastise the Rajah of Lahore for the opposition he encountered from him in a previous Indian campaign to suppress the defection of Mooltan. Having heard of his intended approach, Anundpaul sent ambassadors on all sides, inviting the assistance of the other princes of Hindostan, the expulsion of the Mohammedans being now considered a sacred duty. Accordingly the Rajahs of Oojein, Gwalior, Kalunjur, Kanouj, Delhi, and Ajmeer, entered into a confederacy, and uniting their forces, advanced towards the Punjaub with the greatest army that had yet taken the field. The belligerents met on a plain convenient to Peshawur, where they remained encamped during the space of forty days without coming to action. The Hindoos had daily accessions of strength. Such was the enthusiasm which animated the entire nation, that the Hindoo women sold their jewels, and melted down their golden ornaments, to supply the sinews of war, and these patriotic contributions were forwarded from the remotest parts of the peninsula. The Gukkurs and other warlike tribes joined the confederates, and the Mohammedans, overpowered by numbers, were obliged to fortify their camp. These defences did not protect them against the impetuous Gukkurs. No less than thirty thousand, with their heads and feet bare, armed with various arms, penetrated the Mohammedan lines, and in a few minutes put six thousand of them to the sword. Though thus successful in the first onset, the fortune of the day declared against them. The prince who had the command of the confederates was mounted, as was usual with them, on a conspicuous elephant, which, being startled by a discharge of flaming naptha balls, became ungovernable, turned, and fled. The disappearance of their general disheartened his forces; they were thrown into irremediable confusion, and sought safety in flight. In the pursuit twenty thousand of them fell.

Mahmood now determined on using all the means in his power to establish a permanent empire in India, and to impose the laws of the Koran upon the conquered Hindoos. He waged unsparing war upon their idols, and in his progress remorselessly persecuted the Brahmins, and razed their temples. In order to preserve what they valued infinitely more than their private property, the precious utensils dedicated to the service of their temples, they had them secretly conveyed to a fort of great strength erected on the top of a steep mountain. The sacred treasures of all the neighbouring kingdoms were thither conveyed. The Persian historian supposes that in this fort were accumulated a larger quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls, than was ever stored in the royal treasury of any other prince. Mahmood surprised this place before any precautions could be taken for its defence. The only persons left in charge were a few helpless and timid priests. It fell into his hands without a blow. The booty, without any exaggeration, was immense. Estimating the mun, the standard of weight, at its lowest value—for it varies considerably, being in Arabia only about two pounds, and reaching to eleven pounds in Tabreez—Ferishta sets it down at fourteen hundred pounds of gold and silver plate, four hundred pounds of golden ingots, four thousand pounds of silver bullion, and forty pounds weight of pearls, corals, diamonds, and rubies, and the specie at £313,333. With this vast prize he returned to Ghizni A.D. 1009. To celebrate his success he prepared a magnificent festival, and on that occasion ostentatiously displayed his rich stores of golden thrones and other valuables, and every guest was a recipient of a splendid gift.

Such results as these were calculated to whet the appetite for further conquests; and such was the effect. In the following year Mahmood marched towards Ghoor, a country possessed by a tribe of the warlike Affghans, who shrunk not from the defence of their fatherland. Their success in the earlier period of the campaign responded to their independent spirit and resolution. Mahmood was repulsed in reiterated assaults. At length he succeeded by stratagem in defeating his gallant enemy. Mohammed their king was made prisoner. His proud spirit disdaining to survive defeat and independence, he shared the fate, having taken similar precautions, of the great Carthaginian, Hannibal, by swallowing poison, concealed in his ring for such an exigency.

It is very probable that it was after this reverse that Mohammedanism was imposed on the Affghans, although some authors affirm that they were converted many years before, as already stated—even so early as the time of Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet. The Affghans were noted for their bravery. During the reigns of the Sumany kings they formed a barrier between the kingdom of Mooltan and Lahore; and this resistance is the cause why the Sumany troops always limited their predatory excursions to Scinde and Tatta. It has been observed, when the government of Ghizni devolved on Aluptugeen, his general, Sebektegin, made repeated excursions into Mooltan and Lumghan, and met with fierce opposition from the Affghans; and they were also found leagued with the brave Rajah of Lahore, Jupal, who fought bravely, though unsuccessfully, and would not survive his defeats. From that period the Affghans became military chiefs. Sebektegin, from motives of policy, courted their alliance against the Arabs, and during his reign refrained from attacking; and though his son Mahmood triumphed over them, the sequel will show how they eventually succeeded in subverting the ruling dynasty, and in placing one of their chiefs upon the throne. From Ghoor the Ghiznites marched to the reduction of Mooltan, which had again risen in arms. Having quieted the revolters, he proceeded to the subjugation of Tahnesur, within thirty miles of Delhi. This city was held in as high veneration by the Hindoos as were Mecca by the Moslems and Jerusalem by the Christians. The most sacred of their idols were located there, and its origin dated in their traditions from the creation. Anundpaul, the Rajah of the Punjaub, a tributary of Mahmood, importuned him to alter his resolution respecting Tahnesur, guaranteeing that the amount of the revenues of that district should be paid to reimburse for the expense of his expedition; besides which he undertook to present him with fifty elephants, and jewels to a considerable amount. The reply of the invader marks the stern character of the man, and the all-sacrificing devotion to his creed: "The religion of the faithful inculcates the following tenet: 'that in proportion as the tenets of the Prophet are diffused, and his followers exert themselves in the subversion of idolatry, so shall be their reward in heaven;' and therefore that it was his mission, with the divine aid, to root out the worship of idols from the length and breadth of India. How, then, could he spare Tahnesur?" This haughty reply left but one of two alternatives — absolute submission, at the sacrifice of what is dearest to man, his religious convictions or prejudices, or to peril all in defence of their altars and their homes. However gross may be the superstitions which form the bases of a national creed, they are entitled to respect in proportion to the number of votaries and the moral influences they exercise; and though they may be revolting, nothing justifies the mission of the sword and the fagot. The spirit of the Hindoo principalities was thoroughly roused; but before a junction of their forces could be made, the sacred city was in the power of the enemy. It was given up to the plunder of the army; the temples were stripped of their ornaments, the idols broken, and some of those more special objects of worship were transported to the seat of government. On this occasion the Mohammedan army is said to have carried home with it two hundred thousand captives, and such a mass of Indian spoils, that the capital of Ghizni appeared like an Indian city. Not a soldier of the army was without wealth or without many slaves.

In A.D. 1013 Mahmood penetrated into Cashmere in pursuit of Jupal, second rajah of Lahore, who had fled thither for shelter. He plundered that province, imposed the Mohammedan yoke on the inhabitants, and reduced the chiefs to nominal subjection. In two years after, A.D. 1015, he revisited it, to punish some revolted chiefs, and besieged some forts not previously reduced. This proved a disastrous campaign. The summer was spent in an attempt to besiege Lokoti, a fortress remarkable for the strength of its artificial and natural defences. The approach of winter compelled him to abandon his enterprise. On his return he was misled into extensive morasses, in which he lost a great portion of his force.

In the spring of 1017, with an army consisting of a hundred thousand chosen horse, and twenty thousand foot, Mahmood undertook an expedition against Kanouj. The journey was one of three months, and the intervening district was intersected with seven formidable rivers. He directed his course through Cashmere, and was there supplied with provisions and reinforcements by the prince whom he had recently there established. The march was not only long, but tedious, till he entered the plains of Hindostan, and, driving all opposition before him, he advanced to Kanouj. This city, situated on the Ganges, about a hundred miles south-east from Delhi, was then the capital of a kingdom. From the reign of Gustab, the father of Darab (Darius, King of Persia), says Ferishta,* this city had not been visited by any foreign enemy.

This city, the Persian describes, in the gorgeous imagery of the East, as "raising its head to the skies, and which in strength and beauty is unrivalled," not being prepared for an attack it had no reason to apprehend, threw itself on the mercy of the invader; and the rajah is represented, in his humiliation, to have embraced the religion of the Prophet. He delayed here three days, and then marched against Meerut, the rajah of which retreated with his army, leaving a very inefficient garrison for its defence. It was soon captured, and a large ransom paid for it. In rapid succession he took the cities of Mavin and Mutra—the latter, then a place of great wealth and consequence, is still of considerable extent, and not far from Agra. It was reputed to be four thousand years old, and rich in temples and idols loaded and glistening with diamonds. There are here, said the sultan, "a thousand edifices, as firm as the faith of the faithful, most of them of marble, besides innumerable temples. Its present condition must have been attained at the expense of many millions, nor could such another be constructed under a period of two centuries."* He broke down or burned all the idols, and, as is said of his preceding expedition into Hindostan, he amassed a vast quantity of gold, silver, and diamonds. Though the city suffered much from fire and pillage, the temples escaped demolition. Whether he was influenced to abstain from destroying them by the labour it demanded, or by the admiration their extent, durability, and magnificence, inspired, is a conjecture to his historians. Several other forts being stormed or surrendered, and many rajahs reduced to submission, he returned, loaded with the spoils of victories, to his native dominions, there to recruit fresh strength and determination for further conquests. The pages of his historians are encumbered with the enumeration of the spoils, and their aggregate value, taken at each successive visit from the Indians.

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* *The Mohammedan Power in India*, vol. i. pp. 51, 57.

* Professor Wilson says that the whole story of Mahmood's destruction of Somnauth is a curious specimen of the manner in which a story is embellished by repetition. According to earlier Mohammedan writers, the idol Somnauth was a straight solid block of stone three cubits long, which, upon the temple being pillaged, was broken to pieces. They say nothing of the mutilation of its features, for, in fact, it had none; nothing of the treasures it contained, which, as it was solid, could not have been within it; nor do they speak of the sums offered for its redemption. Rozet-as-Safa, Tabkat Acberi, nor even Ferishta, says nothing of any definite sum being offered for it. His words are, the Brahmins went to the servants of Mahmood, and said, if the king will let the image alone we will give as much gold—meaning, probably, an equal weight—to the public treasury. The crores and millions are due to Dow and Gibbon. Ferishta, however, invents the hidden treasures of rubies and pearls with quite as little warrant. Somnauth was, in fact, a *Linga*, a *Nath* or deity ascribed to Soma, the moon, as having been erected by him in honour of Siva. It was one of the twelve principal types of that deity which were celebrated in India at the time of the first Mohammedan invasion.—Mill's *History of India*, note by Wilson, vol. ii. p. 251.

To commemorate the success of this, and probably the preceding campaigns, he ordered a magnificent mosque to be built in Ghizni. The materials were marble and granite. Such was its transcendental splendour, it was called the Celestial Bride. It was furnished with carpets marvellously wrought, of the most exquisite and costly materials. The candelabra and other ornaments were of silver and gold. He also added an endowment of more sterling value—a university, which he supplied with a large and valuable collection of curious books in various languages, and a museum of natural curiosities. To its maintenance he appropriated a large sum of money, besides funds amply sufficient for the support of the students and professors, duly qualified to instruct the former in the arts and sciences.

The refined taste thus manifested by the sultan produced its effects among a people who had been proportionally participators with him in the plunder of the infidels; they endeavoured to vie with each other in the architectural style and decorations of their residences. Palatial mansions rose on every side; the public buildings surpassed in magnificence and effect; and in a very short time Ghizni was embellished with mosques, porches, fountains, reservoirs, aqueducts, and cisterns, beyond any city in the East.

The services which Mahmood had rendered to Islam were re-echoed through all the countries in which the Koran had been propagated. The glorious deeds he had done were written out, and presented to the caliph. He ordered the book containing them to be read publicly to the faithful at Bagdad, and exhibited his gratification by commemorating such distinguished success by the solemnization of a great festival.

Mahmood having been called upon to repress the outrages of some desert tribes, who, in the weakness of the caliphate, had ventured to interrupt the communication with Mecca, soon cleared that road of all who had dared to molest the pilgrims.

The accidental success of Mahmood in his last mentioned incursion into India, the submission of the Rajah of Kanouj, and his desertion of the creed of his race, had not destroyed among the Hindoos their assurance of a better future. No sooner had the Ghiznites retired from the peninsula than a confederacy was formed to crush the renegade, and before his new master could come to his aid the traitor met the death he merited. On his arrival on the banks of the Jumna, hastening to succour his tributary, Mahmood was surprised to find the Rajah of Lahore, who had so often fled before his troops, drawn up in order of battle on the opposite bank, prepared to dispute his passage. Assaulted by an insignificant body of the invaders, the natives fled in the greatest disorder. He pursued the fugitive prince to his capital, entered it without opposition, and surrendered it to the indiscriminate pillage of his army. The prince of Lahore sought refuge in Ajmeer, and Mahmood returned to Ghizni, having appointed governors to various districts in Hindostan. This is the first time it is recorded—and after the lapse of twenty-three years—that Moslem governors were left in India east of the Indus. Thus was permanent possession taken by the Ghiznites of the Punjaub, and the first foundation laid in Hindostan of a Mohammedan empire, in A.D. 1022, by the annexation of the principality of Lahore.

Whether the repletion of wealth or the advance of years had produced its sedative influences upon the predatory disposition of the sultan his historians have not deigned to record. The plunder of Kanouj was the last in his eleventh Indian campaign.

The twelfth Indian campaign is celebrated wherever there is a Mohammedan as the model of a religious invasion. On this ever-memorable undertaking all Mahmood's energies seem to have been reinvigorated and brought into action. To bequeath a name as a wise and beneficent sovereign, an irresistible conqueror, a benefactor to his country, a patron of the liberal arts and sciences, did not satisfy his expansive ambition: to rank amongst the faithful followers of the Prophet was his master passion. This characteristic is manifested in every page of his life. From youth, whatever may have been his religious observances, he scarcely ever omitted an opportunity of manifesting his bitter and unrelenting hostility to everything bordering on idolatry, and now, in mature age, when successes justified repose, he made a final effort, which was to transmit his name to posterity as one of the severest scourges of idolatry, if not the greatest promoter of Islam.

In the year A.D. 1024 he assembled an army consisting of fifty-four thousand chosen horse, and thirteen hundred elephants, trained for foreign service. These gigantic preparations were made against the Temple of Somnauth, situated near the southern extremity of the peninsula of Gujerat, near the city of Diu, approachable on one side by land, on the other accessible by the sea, which chafed against its other sides. The importance of this place, and the very high estimation in which it was held, may be appreciated from the facts recorded. It is said that from two to three hundred thousand votaries used to attend this temple during eclipses — two thousand villages had been granted by different princes to maintain its establishments — there were two thousand priests, five hundred dancing women, and three hundred musicians attached to it. A chain supporting a bell, which worshippers struck during prayers, weighed two hundred muns of gold; the idol was washed daily with water brought from the Ganges, a distance of a thousand miles.* Mahmood had heard of the great riches and supposed sanctity of the celebrated temple, and was further incited by the arrogance of the priests, who had foolishly boasted that other strongholds had yielded to Mahmood by reason of their impiety, but that should he have the temerity to approach Somnauth, he would there meet the fate his wickedness merited. The veneration in which it was held, and the mysterious legends long circulated about it, perhaps generated a confidence in its impregnability. The Hindoos believed, as Ferishta states,† that the souls of the dead congregated before Somnauth,‡ and were there transformed into other bodies, in proportion to their merits in their former state. They also asserted that the ebb and flow of the tides—an extraordinary spectacle to people unaccustomed to such phenomena—represented the obedience paid by the ocean to this shrine. They also affirmed that the idol had stood there since the time of Krishnu, about four thousand years before, according to their computation.

The Mohammedan army had reached the city of Mooltan, and, as a large desert lay before them, the sultan gave orders to them to provide themselves with water and other essentials. They passed the desert, and arrived at Ajmeer. The city was abandoned at his advance, and given up to plunder; also the adjacent country. Neglecting no precaution on his march, he at length reached Somnauth without opposition. Here he encountered the most serious resistance he had yet met with. The priests and guardians defended it with all the determination which the noblest incentives—altars and homes—could inflame. Besides, there were assembled to their support the young and old enthusiasts of all the neighbouring kingdoms identified with them in creed. The soldiers of Mahmood were many of them veterans, the victors in hard-contested fields, with unfaltering faith in the capabilities and good fortune of their leader and the succour of their Prophet. They repeatedly advanced to the charge, and were as often repelled from their ground. The Hindoos made so spirited a resistance, that as often as the Mohammedans, to the inspiriting cry of Allah Akbar, applied their scaling-ladders to the walls, and endeavoured to ascend, they were hurled from their position. In an engagement outside the walls the struggle was maintained with equal resolution. At length, by a daring personal exploit of their zealot chief, the Mohammedans were victorious, and the triumphant sultan entered the temple.

A magnificent view here met his enraptured gaze. The lofty roof of this temple was supported by thirty-six pillars, overlaid with plates of gold, and encrusted at intervals with clusters of rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones. One pendant lamp alone illumined the spacious edifice, whose light, reflected by a thousand jewels, shed a strong and refulgent lustre through the temple. In the midst stood Somnauth himself, an idol composed of one entire block, fifty cubits in height, forty-seven of which were buried in the ground, and on that spot, according to Brahminical tradition, he had been adored between four and five thousand years. Around the dome were suspended some thousand images in gold and silver, of various shapes and dimensions. In this sacred place, as in a pantheon, seemed to be assembled all the deities worshipped in the peninsula. Filled with indignation at sight of the gigantic idol the monarch aimed a blow at its head with his iron mace. The nose was struck from its face. A treasure of money equal to ten millions sterling was offered by the Brahmins for its preservation. The Omrahs, dazzled with the ransom, counselled its acceptance. Mahmood, exclaiming that he valued the title of breaker, not seller of idols, gave orders to proceed with the work of destruction. The image was shattered by repeated blows, and from its hollow womb poured forth a hidden horde of diamonds and other jewels that amply repaid him for the sacrifice of the ransom. Two pieces of this idol were transmitted to Mecca and Medina, and two to Ghizni, where one was to be seen at the palace, and one at the public mosque as late as the seventeenth century, when Ferishta wrote his history.*

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* The value of the chain, if in Tubrizi muns, would be above £100,000.

† Ferishta, vol. i. p. 250.

‡ D'Herbelot, misled by some of the Persian historians, makes Somnauth the same as the city of Vesiapore, in the Deccan.—*Biblioth. Orient. ad verbum*, Soumenat.

* Maurice's *History of Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 295.

The treasures which, on this occasion, fell into the hands of the conquerors, exceeded all preceding captures. After this Mahmood, having chastised the princes who had assisted in defence of the temple, reduced all Gujerat to obedience. It is said that he was so captivated with the beauty of the country, the richness of the soil, and the salubrity of the climate, that he conceived the design of fixing his court there, and of resigning Ghizni to one of his sons. This proposal was strongly opposed by his advisers; he appointed to the government of it a Hindoo, and then returned to Ghizni after an absence of two years and a half.

With this campaign it may be said closed the career of Mahmood, so far as the history of India is concerned, with the exception of the comparatively unimportant incidents of the punishment of the Jats (Juts or Jaats), a people who inhabited a country on the Indus, southward from Mooltan, who had given him some unrecorded annoyance on his return from Gujerat. He expired at Ghizni, on the 29th of April, 1030, in the sixty-third year of his age.

Of the entire series of Mohammedan rulers there is none who, among the followers of the Prophet, is held in higher estimation for his warlike achievements, and fidelity to the injunctions of the Koran, so far as the imposition of Islam is concerned.

The education of this prince had prepared him for the brilliant part which he subsequently played. From his boyhood, like the son of Hamilcar, he was the camp attendant of his warlike father, and had at a very early age manifested a decided military capacity. Thus qualified, and with his mind matured, he found himself, at the age of thirty, in a remote province, when the intelligence was conveyed to him of the death of his father, and the ascension of his brother to the throne. Whether his exclusion was owing to his absence or to his illegitimacy, is not known; but whatever might be the cause, it was not his want of seniority, as it is asserted that Ishmael, the chosen of his father, was a youth in comparison to him. Mahmood did not accept the arrangements of his father. He laid claim to the succession, and enforced his right, still protesting the strongest attachment for his brother; to whom, after defeat and in confinement, he prescribed every indulgence consistent with his safe keeping. In addition to those victories and acquisitions, the consequences of his twelve Indian campaigns already related, he, in the commencement of his reign, asserted his independence of the caliphs, and was the first who assumed the title of Sultan, since so generally adopted by the Moslem princes; he humbled the dynasty of the Samanas, and took possession of all Transoxiana. He crushed the power of the formidable Tartars, and that of the not less formidable Affghans; imposed a rajah on Gujerat and exacted tribute; and crowned all these brilliant achievements by the subjugation of Persia. An illustrious instance of his enlightened patronage of literature, and princely endowments of colleges and pensions to men of letters, has been previously furnished; the latter amounted to £10,000 a year. In consequence of this munificence, his capital was said to have exhibited a greater assemblage of literary genius and architectural excellence than any other Mohammedan sovereign has ever been able to produce. Ferdosi, the author of *Shah Namah*, the most celebrated poem of the East, was an honoured guest at his court.

The reader of the foregoing sketch need not be told how sincerely devoted he was to his convictions. In the prosecution of his ambitious projects he always testified his abhorrence of idolatry, and his recognition of one God, and the glorification of his Prophet. Reared up in veneration of the mission of the sword, as a propagator of Mohammedanism, it is not to be wondered at if some cruel, blood-stained, revolting features are blended in his lineaments. His tendencies were humane. With preparations made for a war on Persia, he was disarmed by a letter from the mother of the young prince, who told him that she might have feared him while her warlike husband was alive, but that now she felt secure in the conviction that he was too generous to attack a defenceless woman, and too wise to risk his glory in a conquest where no addition to it could be gained. After that magnanimous sacrifice to fine and generous feeling, how abhorrently does the following contrast with it. Invading Irak, he perfidiously seized on the person of the prince who had chivalrously trusted himself in his camp; he deprived him of his territory, and put remorselessly thousands of his adherents to death, who loyally rose to vindicate the rights of their sovereign; and these crimes were not perpetrated in the impetuosity of youth, but at the close of his life on the verge of the grave.

His ruling passion—if poetic justice, which is very doubtful, were done to him—was avarice. His treatment of the poet Ferdosi is well authenticated, and a striking proof of his complex character.

The poet, who, from time to time, as he progressed, read portions of his great epic to his royal patron, in which are embodied the achievements of the Persian kings and heroes, received on those occasions royal gifts. When the whole was concluded, after thirty years' labour, as Ferdosi himself relates, the rewards received were disproportioned to the greatness of the work. Ferdosi rejected what was offered, and indignantly withdrew to his native city Tus, and soon composed and published a bitter satire against Mahmood, and held himself prepared to fly from that monarch's dominions, if he found it necessary to shun the effects of his revenge. Mahmood generously forgot the insult, while he remembered the great epic; and sent a remuneration to the poet, sufficiently ample to satisfy his most extravagant expectations. This bounty came too late in a double sense. As the treasures entered the house by one door the poet's bier was borne out of another; and the facts which leave stains on the king's character would have perished from the memory of man, had they not been embalmed and preserved in the immortal verses of the poet.

The daughter of Ferdosi at first rejected the untimely gift. By the persuasion of the sultan she at length accepted it, and expended it on an embankment to afford a supply of water to the city where her father had been born, and to which he had been always much attached.

Ferishta says that it is a well-established fact, that a few days before his death, to gratify his avaricious appetite, Mahmood had commanded all his gold and caskets of precious stones to be strewed before him. When he beheld them he wept, and he ordered them to be restored to their repository.

It is also related, that one day he asked one of the court attendants what quantity of valuable jewels the Samany dynasty had accumulated. He was informed that one of them had seven *ruttuls* weight of precious stones. Mahmood cried out, "Thanks to thee, all-powerful Being, who hast enabled me to collect more than one hundred ruttuls."

He commanded a wealthy citizen to be summoned to his presence, and reproached him for being an idolater and an apostate from the faith. The citizen replied, "O King, I am not an idolater nor an apostate; but I am possessed of wealth; take it, but inflict not on me a two-fold injury by robbing me both of my money and of my good name." The king is said to have confiscated the money, and then presented him with a certificate certifying the orthodoxy of his tenets.

The following well-known story, recorded in most notices of him, is a singular and characteristic exemplification of his rigid notions of military subordination. A petitioner one day complained that Mahmood's nephew, an officer in the army, had conceived a passion for his wife, a beautiful but faithless woman, who had sacrificed her honour and received him to her embraces. That the prince, in his frequent visits to his house, heaped injuries upon, and was in the habit of inflicting personal punishment, and of then ejecting him from the house. The king, deeply effected, reproved the poor man for not having previously made this case known to him. The man assured him he had often endeavoured to do so, but was always repelled. He was then directed to give the king notice when the next visit was made. The injured man having done as ordered, Mahmood, enveloped in the folds of his cloak, attended him to his home, and found his nephew and paramour together. Having extinguished the candle which had been burning on the carpet near their couch, he severed the head of the adulterer from his body, and then commanded the man to bring a light and a draught of water. The poor man fell at the king's feet, and poured forth his gratitude in unmeasured language, and then begged him to say why he had put out the candle, and afterwards called so eagerly for water to drink. The king replied, he had put out the candle that pity might not arrest his hand in the execution of his duty, for that he tenderly loved the youth; and, moreover, that he had registered a vow to God, when he first heard the complaint, that he would neither eat nor drink till he had brought the criminal to justice, which was the cause of his intense thirst.

The predatory nature of his excursions, the little attention paid to the internal organization of his government, the proximate downfall of his dynasty, and the disruption of his dominions, do not impress respect for his administrative ability or enlarged views of policy, or justify the high estimate of his admirers, who claim for him the possession of every royal virtue.

He is represented to have been of middle stature, athletic, and well proportioned, but with a countenance scarred with the smallpox, a source of deep mortification to him; and that the glory of his career might efface the impression of his features, is by some stated to have been the stimulant which first roused into action and sustained to the last his indomitable resolution and warlike enterprise. His disposition was cheerful, and he lived in harmony with all who were attached to his person.

A great social revolution had been gradually and unnoticed in operation. The Arabs—the kindred, first disciples, and fearles soldiers of the Prophet—had lost much of their early prestige. Their power was divided, their enthusiasm was no longer as of old, their influence had been a long time on the wane, and though many of them were still employed both as soldiers and civil officers, a great portion of the court and army were Turks, and the great mass of the population was Persian. It is to be regretted that the historians of the past disregarded all other materials than those which perpetuated and ministered to the military renown, and explained the foreign relations, of their respective countries. There is now no means of becoming acquainted with the state of society, the progress of the various grades of the people, and of public and domestic manners in the kingdom of Ghizni. Had there existed any sources of such information, it would be an invaluable acquisition in tracing the history of the various succeeding dynasties in India; all of which, it will be seen, trace their origin to the court or neighbourhood of that kingdom.

At the time of Mahmood's death, his sons Mohammed and Musaood were both absent. The former was the favourite of the father, and to him was bequeathed the vacant throne. Mohammed was accordingly put in possession, and inaugurated his reign by opening the well-filled exchequer of which he had obtained possession, and making largesses to his friends, and all whose adherence would be desirable in the crisis which he felt conscious impended. Notwithstanding this profuse liberality, the hearts of the soldiers and the people were devoted to Musaood. When he made his appearance to fight for the crown, hosts crowded to his standard; the contest was soon decided. Mohammed was imprisoned, after a reign of five months, and deprived of his eyesight. After the death of his brother he was restored to the throne. He ruled for one year, but was put to death by his nephew, the son of Musaood.

During the nine years of Musaood's reign, three incursions were made by him into Hindostan. The first was in the year A.D. 1033; his route lay through the hills of Cashmere, in which he met with some opposition, the only incident of the campaign, which was soon overcome.

One of those famines, of such frequent occurrence in the East, occurred this year. Whole provinces of Hindostan were entirely depopulated, and in parts of the kingdom scarcely a single house escaped the plague.

In 1035, the disobedience of an Indian rajah provoked the second incursion, and in the following year he marched in person to reduce Sewalik, a principality lying along the base of the mountain where the Ganges first rolls it waters into the Indian plains. The capital, though strongly fortified and well garrisoned, yielded after six days' attack. The booty which fell into his hands is said to have been immense. Thence he proceeded to take the fort of Sunput, situated within forty miles of Delhi, on the road to Lahore; the garrison vacated it on the approach of the Mohammedans, and sought shelter in the woods. He then designed to proceed against another offending rajah called Ram, but was pacified by the submission and magnificent present made to him to deprecate his wrath. His Indian proceedings were here interrupted by a circumstance fated to initiate a series of operations which proved the ruin of the reigning house, overthrew most of the existing rulers of the Mohammedans, and led to the establishment of a power in India extensive and still abiding—namely, the Turks, who have played a prominent part in subsequent events as professors and soldiers of Islam.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF THE HOUSES OF GHIZNI (*Concluded*).

The first mention which is met with in history of the Turks, is in the war which the Emperor Heraclius waged in the beginning of the seventh century, against Khosroes Purvees, the son of Ormuz, King of Persia. The Persian owed a great deal of his success to the aid of the Avars, a tribe of Tartars, who when driven out of their country by some Turkish hordes, solicited and obtained, from the weak policy of the Emperor Justinian, leave to feed their flocks within the limits of the empire. To oppose the ravages of these barbarians Heraclius made an alliance with the Turks, by whom they had been expelled, and a tribe of them who bore the name Khozars, issued under their chief, Zubil, from the plains of the Volga, and joined the emperor in Georgia.* In the eleventh century they present themselves as one of the most numerous and formidable of the pastoral nations. The declining years of Mahmood were disturbed by their reported bravery and the numbers of them that roved over the wastes of Bokhara. In an assumed kindly tone he once inquired of a Turkish envoy what assistance might he expect from them in case of attack:—"Send this," said the Turk, holding forth an arrow, "and fifty thousand horsemen will repair to your standard; add another from my quiver, and the number will be doubled; if you need further aid, dispatch my bow through our tribes, and two hundred thousand mounted warriors will obey the summons." * Mahmood listened to the answer with deep alarm, but the storm which he apprehended from that surcharged and threatening cloud did not burst till after his death. For four centuries their strength had been accumulating. Mahmood imprudently, and contrary to the advice of his more far-seeing counsellors, had granted to their entreaties permission to pass the Oxus with their flocks and herds, and to occupy the uninhabited plains of Khorassan. Three brothers, the sons of a chief named Seljuk, availed themselves of the concession, and their numbers were soon considerably increased by the accessions, which every day brought, from the thickly populated fields they had left behind. During the reign of their benefactor there was no reason to regret their proximity, no complaint against them seems to have been raised.

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* Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 160, note. Other historians ascribe the first appearance of the Turks in the West to the eleventh century. See Mill, &c. Malcolm's authority on this point is superior to theirs.

Though some chiefs of the Turks had risen previously to the highest command under the governments they served,—as the Mamelukes at Bagdad, and Aluptugeen himself, the founder of the existing dynasty,—yet the Seljukians were the first, in modern times, of their race that secured permanent possessions to the south of the Oxus.

Seljuk, from whom this people had their patronymic, was the son of the Emir Vekank, whose influence over the monarch was very considerable. On the death of this minister he was in command of the armies of his sovereign. His anxious curiosity is said to have provoked the indignation of the seraglio; and here again to the agency of woman is attributed a circumstance to which are traceable the rise and fall of empires. Influenced by the promptings of one of the king's wives, Seljuk was disgraced, and with his family and friends fled from the court into the territories adjacent to Samarcand. The Tartars in their southern migrations were soon identified in religion with the people among whom they sojourned. The followers of Seljuk rapidly increased. His residence became the asylum of all the expatriated and adventurous of the neighbouring clans. Their individuality was lost in the common passion for conquest and plunder.

The schemes of aggrandizement which occupied the thoughts of Seljuk did not perish with him. The wars which his grandsons, Togrol Beg and Techeger Beg, waged against the princes of Transoxiana spread their fame far and wide, and filled the King Musaood with well-grounded apprehension. When making preparations for his third expedition into India, the King of Ghizni was strongly advised to turn his attention to repress the encroachments of the Seljuks, who had already appropriated Samarcand and Bokhara. He, unfortunately for himself, rejected this salutary advice, and thus left the two grandsons of Seljuk to establish their power in the newly-acquired territories, and to mature their plans of future aggrandizement. The result was that when, at length, Musaood was obliged to adopt vigorous measures, the enemy were enabled utterly to defeat him, and secured their crowning victory at Zendeean, in Khorassan, under the command of Togrol Beg. This victory was so decisive, and productive of such important consequences, that the colossal empire of the Ghizinites was shivered to atoms.

Togrol Beg thus became the first sultan of the Seljukian Turks. He became master of a very extensive empire, which stretched from Bokhara to Syria, and from the Indus to the Black Sea. He lived to an old age, and dying in his seventieth year, bequeathed his throne to his nephew, Alp Arslan. This powerful prince reigned without a rival. His alliance was eagerly sought by the Caliph of Egypt, and as a symbol of his double empire, as ruler of the East and West, on state occasions he had a scimitar girt to each thigh.

Driven from Ghizni by the victorious Turks, Modood, the son and successor of Musaood, retired to his Indian dominion, and wasted much of his surviving force in wreaking vengeance on his uncle and his sons, who had imprisoned and assassinated his father, after his defeat and humiliation. Having avenged his father's death, he built the town of Futtehabad to his memory. Modood had for his portion of the Indian empire Lahore and its dependencies. These, after his death, fell into his successor's hands, as did the country east of the Indus, as far as Hansi and Tahnesur.

To recover the latter, and indeed to expel the Mohammedan power out of India, and avenge the outrages on the gods of the Hindoo mythology, the Rajah of Delhi, who

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* D'Herbelot. See "Seljook."

the co-operation of other native princes and the Brahmins, preached up a holy war against their invaders, thus anticipating by half a century the first Christian crusade, provoked by kindred outrages on what the Moslems denounced as the idolatry of the followers of Christ. The Indian holy war dates from A.D. 1043, the first crusade from A.D. 1095. The Mohammedans were ejected from their recent acquisitions. Thence the Hindoos marched towards the fort and temple of Nagrakote, whose capture and plunder have been described in a former page. Four months was devoted to its recovery. The garrison having all their supplies cut off, their provisions consumed, and no hope of succour from Lahore, were reduced to an unconditional surrender. The Hindoos, naturally elated by their repeated successes, calculated on the entire restoration of their independence, and the re-establishment of their multifarious creeds in all their pristine splendour and power. The great incentive to a superstitious people, the direct and immediate interposition of providence, on so many occasions, and in so many places, pressed into service, was not wanting. It was authoritatively, publicly, and generally announced that the Rajah of Delhi had a vision, in which the great and venerated idol, so summarily treated by Mahmood some years previous at Nagrakote, had appeared, and asserted that he was now prepared to avenge the sacrilegious contumelies heaped upon him, that he had executed summary punishment at Ghizni, and would meet the rajah at Nagrakote in his former temple. This story was hailed with general credence. Zealots from all quarters soon swelled the ranks of the pious rajah, and he soon saw himself at the head of a numerous force, confident in the assurance of heavenly aid, ready to confront every danger, and dare the most hazardous. With these enthusiasts he besieged Nagrakote. It soon fell into their hands. The following morning, in a garden in the centre of the place, where for centuries it had received the homage of its credulous worshippers, stood identical in size, shape, and features, the cherished idol of their adoration, which had been shattered into fragments by the vigorous assaults of the audacious Mahmood. Great was the exultation of the surprised and delighted votaries. They exclaimed that their god had returned from Ghizni. No artifice was imputed to the rajah and the Brahmins. To their god and his mysterious influence was thankfully given all the credit of this palpable miracle. Its reputation suddenly raised to such a degree the fame of this shrine, that thousands came daily from all parts of Hindostan to perform their devotions, and to consult the oracle upon all important occasions. Ferishta, the Mohammedan historian, avers that in his time—in the seventeenth century—"the offerings of gold, and silver, and jewels, brought and sent by the different princes of India, from far and near, were supposed to have nearly equalled the mass of wealth removed by Mahmood."

The success of the Rajah of Delhi inspired such confidence into the princes of the Punjaub and other places, that, "though before this time," our authority quaintly says, "like foxes they durst hardly creep from their holes, for fear of the Moslems' arms, yet now they put on the aspect of lions, and openly set their masters at defiance."

Three of the allied rajahs, with an army composed of ten thousand horse, and an innumerable host of infantry, advanced on Lahore, and invested it. The siege lasted seven months. The Mohammedans had everything to fight for; they defended the town street by street, for the walls, being bad, were soon reduced to a heap of ruins; despairing of aid, and finding that they must be overpowered, they bound themselves by oath to conquer or die, and with this alternative made a sally. Their temerity was their salvation. The enemy, panic stricken, fled in disorder when they presented themselves, and fearful slaughter was made of the flying host.

The petty but fierce and treacherous conflicts waged by the succeeding princes, till their utter extinction, have no historical interest to command lengthened notice: suffice it to say that attempts, and in some cases attended with temporary success, were made for the recovery of Ghizni. Wars, interrupted by alliances often sacrificed to political interests, were waged with the Turks and the princes of Ghoor, as well as with the rival members of their own house. One of these princes, and not the worst, confirmed to the Turks all the territory which they had wrested from his family. In the reign of Musaood III. it is recorded that his army passed the Ganges, and carried his conquests farther in Hindostan than any Mussulman had previously, except the Emperor Mahmood. The Sultan Beiram is described as possessing a noble and generous spirit, and as a patron of literature. "Several works were by his orders translated from various languages, among which is one particularly mentioned, an Indian book, called the *Kuleel-oo-Dumna*, translated into Persian, and presented with a chess-board to Nowsherwan, surnamed the Just, King of Persia, before the dissolution of the Hindoo empire of India." The present of the chess-board was said to be intended as an experiment to try the genius of the vizier, and to indicate, that in the great game of state, attention and foresight were of more importance than chance; while the book was calculated to convey the lesson that wisdom is always in the end an overmatch for strength.

Beiram, in the days of his prosperity, made two attempts to chastise a refractory Indian subject. This was his governor of Lahore, whom he succeeded, in his first visit, in reducing to obedience, and then reinstated him in his post, A. D. 1118. Shortly after, this ungrateful subject, whose name was Mohammed Bhyleem, built the fort of Nagore, to which he conveyed his wealth and family. He then raised an army composed of reckless adventurers, and committed great devastations in several Indian principalities, and at length aspired to sovereign power. Sultan Beiram, apprised of his intention, marched a second time to chastise him. Bhyleem, and his ten sons, all governors of provinces, united their respective forces to oppose him. A battle followed; the malcontents were obliged to break ground; in their retreat the eleven, with their attendants, sank into a deep quagmire, and all there ignominiously perished. Having appointed a ruler over the conquered districts, Beiram retired to his capital.

His next important deed was the public execution of his brother-in-law, the prince of Ghoor, whose death was amply avenged, and the sultan was obliged to evacuate Ghizni to the avenger. The triumph of the latter was brief. His new subjects betrayed him into the hands of their late sovereign, who inflicted on him a singular and ignominious death. The captive had his forehead blackened, was then seated on a bullock with his face towards the tail, and thus having been exposed to the entire populace, amid their shouts and insults, he was put to the torture, his head cut off and sent to the Turkish sultan. This barbarity hastened the downfall of this failing dynasty. The surviving brother of the two murdered chiefs prepared to avenge them. Beiram suffered a signal defeat, and fled for safety towards his Indian realms, but, overwhelmed by his misfortunes, he soon breathed his last after a reign of thirty-five years, A. D. 1152.

Alla-ood-Deen, of Ghoor, the conqueror, entered Ghizni in triumph, and that noble city, the seat of empire, was for seven days committed to the plunder and fury of the victorious and avenging army, while the heir of Beiram found refuge in Lahore. The last scene of this horrid drama was played by Mohammed of Ghoor, a brother also of the three princes who figured in the last act, and Koshrow Malik, grandson of Beiram, and last of this race, who rather atoned for the offences of his predecessors than his own. His private and public virtues, all of which are claimed for him, did not propitiate his hereditary enemy, who first reduced Ghizni, then marched to India, overrunning the provinces of Peshawur, Affghanistan, Mooltan, and the Indus, at length approached Lahore, and A. D. 1180 invested Khosrow Malik in his palace. It did not then fall, but in four years after the attack was renewed for some alleged violation of treaty, and two years after, A. D. 1186, the empire passed away for ever to the house of Ghoor, whose history shall form the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE DYNASTIES OF GHOOR AND KHILJI.

Mohammed Ghoory, the founder of this dynasty, was, nominally, acting under the orders of his brother, but possessing greater abilities, and being more actively engaged in civil and military affairs, he was in greater favour with men of influence than the sovereign, of whom he was in reality the ruler. As soon as he had restored order in the lately captured province of Lahore he returned to Ghizni, but did not long remain there. In the year A.D. 1191 he proceeded to Hindostan, to encounter a formidable combination of native rajahs. The leaders of this patriotic movement were the princes of Delhi and of Ajmeer. Their army was composed of two hundred thousand horse and three thousand elephants. The hostile forces met within eighty miles of Delhi; and although Mohammed is said to have displayed great personal courage, his army was completely routed, and he, with great difficulty escaped, severely wounded, having been hotly pursued for a distance of forty miles. After this discomfiture he retired to the court of his brother in Ghoor, and having brought together a force of a hundred and twenty thousand chosen horse, composed principally of Turks and Affghans, he sought the recovery of his dominions, and marching through Peshawur and Mooltan (names immortal-in English history), he directed his course to Lahore, whence he sent an ambassador to the Indian chiefs, with a declaration of war, should they refuse to embrace Islam. As might be expected from a people so devoted to their vernacular belief, flushed with recent victory, a haughty answer was given, and a formidable host, far more numerous than the former, was prepared to indorse this acceptance of the issue. They met again—rather a strange coincidence—on the banks of the Soorsutty, to decide their fate. The number of Rajpoot princes in the Indian camp amounted to a hundred and fifty, but this number will not be deemed incredible, if, as Briggs states, the title was applied to all the members of a family which enjoyed feudatory estates, and may be compared to the title of baron in Germany. They pledged themselves by the most solemn of their oaths (the sacred Ganges), "that they would conquer their enemies, or die martyrs to their faith," and dispatched a threatening letter—an avowal of their determination—to their invader, in which they averred, in the high-flown phraseology, which can find a faint medium of conveyance in the English language, "that they had sworn, if he had determined to brave his evil destiny, to advance upon him with their rank-breaking elephants, their plain-trampling horses, and blood-thirsting soldiers, early the following morning, to crush the army which his ambition was leading to ruin." To this a modest reply was given, that Mohammed was merely executing the commands of his sovereign, and requesting a truce till he had communicated to him the state of affairs. This message had the intended effect. The Indians, thrown off their guard by the affected semblance of apprehension, spent the following night in riot and revelry. The dawn of the morning revealed to them the true aspect of affairs. As the darkness cleared away the sheen of the splendid mail, glittering with a profusion of jewels and gold, of an army in battle array in possession of their outposts, flashed upon their startled vision. They were surprised in a double sense, but not dismayed. The extent of their lines enabled them to push forward their cavalry, and give a timely check to the advancing Mohammedans until the main body was in order to engage. By this manœuvre they were enabled to commence the fight, which they did in four lines, with great resolution and military organization. The details, though interesting, may be well sacrificed to space and other matter. Enough to say, by a well devised stratagem, the Moslems eventually achieved a victory. Two of the Indian chiefs fell; many of the princes shared the same fate; and, as the historian forcibly phrases it, "this prodigious army, once shaken, like a great building, tottered to its fall, and was lost in its own ruins." The usual consequences of Eastern warfare follow—havoc, plunder, butchery, and slavery. Desolation charred the path of the conqueror. In the following year (1196)—it may be well to mention it, as it is the first notice of the town—Gwalior fell into Mohammed's hands, and, by the death of his brother, he succeeded to the regal name, having long possessed the power. The remainder of his reign was principally occupied in affairs, however important, alien to Indian history. He was assassinated while reposing in his tent, A.D. 1206.

It may not be irrevelant here to say that contemporaneous to these events the caliphate of Egypt was the theatre of one of the most extraordinary incidents in history, and in which the people of England played the most prominent part—namely, the war waged by the "lion-hearted" Plantagenet, Richard I., in the remote realms of Saladin, equally famous in the history of his people. It was during this period the siege of Acre took place, when the Christian chivalry, in the vigour and strength of their steel-clad squadrons, broke through the ranks of the Turkish host, and left twenty emirs and seven thousand of the flower of the sultan's cavalry to "bite the dust" on their native plains; that Jaffa and Cesaræa fell, the way to Jerusalem and its holy places, as they are called, were opened to the Christian pilgrim, an object *then* paramount to all others; and such deeds performed by England's king, that for centuries after the Syrian mother hushed her screaming babe to silence with his awe-inspiring name. This period also witnessed the second crusade, the beginning and end of the fourth, and several other memorable events, not to be noticed further here.

The successor of the last-named prince was Kootb-ood-Deen, who had not any hereditary nor testamentary claim. In the reign of his sovereign he had acquired some distinction for his civil and military capacity, and liberality to men of letters,—a virtue or a policy which secures for him, as for every Mecænas, whatever his transgressions, a distinguished niche in the posthumous gallery of illustrious men. He had been originally a slave, and the development of his qualities and subsequent aggrandizement may, without any depreciation of his personal virtues, be attributed to the accident of having a king for his purchaser. When the death of his master was made known, he proclaimed his own independence, which he maintained till his death, and made Delhi the seat of his government. When a man is praised for his generosity in India, they say to this day, "He is as liberal as Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk." A few slaves succeeded to him on the throne; they are called by historians the Slave Dynasty.

Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz, his successor, was, like himself, a slave. On him had been conferred by Mohammed Ghoory the honour of carrying the black standard of Ghizni, a privilege confined to the heir-apparent. On the death of his royal master and benefactor, Taj-ood-Deen was proclaimed King of Ghizni. His first act after his accession was the invasion of the Punjaub, and the occupation of Lahore; but in his course of conquest he was checked by his contemporary, Kootb-ood-Deen, and deprived of his kingdom, but soon after recovered it, and conceived the notion of conquering India. For this purpose he raised an army some time after the death of Kootb-ood-Deen. Having reduced a few of the northern districts, he was defeated near Delhi by Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, taken prisoner, and died in confinement, A.D. 1215, having reigned only nine years.

To understand this very intricate passage of Indian history, avoided by many, confused by others,—when the divided empire of their master was contemporaneously ruled over by his four favourite slaves, and his nephew, his legitimate heir,—it is necessary to say a few words of another of them.

Baha-ood-Deen Togrol had raised himself from a servile condition to a position of some repute in the service of Mohammed Ghoory, who, when he was leaving Hindostan, gave the command of a fort to Togrol in the neighbourhood of Gwalior, and assured him if he conquered that district he would confirm him in the government. Unable to storm this stronghold, he environed it with detached forts, and thus effectually blockaded the hills, and calculated on its inevitable surrender. The Rajah of Gwalior was *sensibly* apprised of that disagreeable fact by his pressing necessities; but in order to disappoint the vulture expectations of his foe, he privately communicated to Kootb-ood-Deen that he would surrender it to him. The latter accordingly took possession of the valuable and much-sought-for prize. The consequences might be expected. This arrangement nearly produced a war between the two chiefs. The sudden death of Togrul alone prevented it.

The fourth now remains to be noticed. Shums-ood-Deen Altmish rose rapidly in royal favour, and in the course of time became the son-in-law, and subsequently general-in-chief, of Kootb-ood-Deen. Upon the death of his father-in-law, Altmish was not satisfied to have the son succeeding the father. To that position he himself aspired; and being a favourite with the army, and b marriage a member of the royal family, h had the means to accomplish his ambitio projects. He advanced against Delhi, th capital, and in the year A.D. 1211, expell his unoffending brother-in-law from th throne, and declared himself king. The were some who viewed this acquisition as h heinous injustice deserved. The greater par of his Turkish horse, the flower of the arm deserted him. They, uniting with oth supporters of legitimacy, advanced in grea force on Delhi, but were met and defeate by his superior skill and numbers.

After this event the tributary Rajah o Jalwur having refused to discharge his obligations, he compelled him to do so. He proceeded against the reigning prince of Ghizn his lord paramount, who had occupied th Punjaub, and defeated and imprisoned him his death soon followed, as some relate, fro poison. He also, on the banks of the Chena gained, in A.D. 1217, a complete victory ove his brother-in-law. In 1221, the famous b unfortunate Julal-ood-Deen, being defeate in the north by Jenghis Khan, retreated towards Lahore, where his hopes of safety were destroyed, and he compelled to retreat toward Scinde Seveistan. In 1225 he led his victorious army towards Bahar, and Lucknow the capital of Ghoor, and wrested tribu from the Rajah of Bengal. He caused th currency of that kingdom to be struck in hi own name, appointed his son to the government of Bahar, and then returned in triump to his city of Delhi. About this time, his unfortunate brother-in-law having been drowned he seized on all his kingdom. In 1227 h conquered the province of Malwa. In 123 he laid siege to Gwalior, which had agai fallen into the hands of the Hindoos. H became master of it. This deed was celebrated by a contemporary poet in four verses which are still to be seen on an inscriptio cut upon stone over one of the gateways After the reduction of this town he directe his march towards Malwa, reduced the fo of Bhilsa, and took the city of Oojein. He he destroyed a magnificent temple, similar t that at Somnauth, already described. Th temple is said to have occupied three hundr years in building, and was surrounded by wall one hundred cubits high. The image Vicramaditya, so renowned in Hindoo myth ology, and the image of Mahakaly, both stone, with many other statues in brass, wer found in the temple. These the pious vand had conveyed to Delhi, and they were brok at the door of the principal mosque. He w on his march to seize on Delhi, when h proud and destructive career was stopped by a power more inexorable than himself. He fell sick, returned to his capital, and terminated his life and his conquests on the 30th of April, 1236.

Little survives, with the exception of his cruelty and treachery to the members of his family, his insatiable thirst for conquest, and the ruthless onslaught on his conquered victims, to afford materials for a discriminate estimate of his character.

His vizier, towards the close of his reign, had been in a similar capacity with the Caliph of Bagdad. It may be worthy of remark that the title of Nizam-ool-Moolk, which was so generally adopted after his reign, is first applied to this vizier. This reign lasted twenty-six years.

His son, Rookn-ood-Deen Feroze, who happened to be in Delhi at the demise of his father, ascended the throne without opposition. His reign is pronounced by the Mohammedans themselves to have been a continuous scene of debauchery and cruelty. While his time was entirely resigned to women, comedians, musicians, and dancing-girls, the management of public affairs was left entirely to his mother, a Turk and a slave, whose character is comprised in this short summary—"a monster of cruelty." The feelings of his subjects, who greeted his ascent to the throne with every demonstration of respect, were grossly outraged and estranged; and when his younger brother, the governor of Oude, raised the standard of revolt, crowds flocked to him. The miserable king was deserted by his principal courtiers, and after a profligate reign of seven months the sceptre was placed in the hands of his sister. He was imprisoned, and died in confinement. His mother shared his captivity.

Ruzea Begum, the eldest daughter of Altmish, proved that she possessed qualifications to rule far superior to those of her brothers; indeed, contrary to oriental precedents, during the life of her father she had, by his encouragement, taken a prominent part in public affairs. It is very probable that it was owing to the knowledge of her business habits that she owed her selection in preference to her brother, the governor of Oude, who was at that time in arms. During the expedition against Gwalior she was entrusted with the reins of government.

She proved herself worthy of the preference. She studiously attended to affairs of state, assumed the imperial robes, and every day gave audience publicly from the throne; revised and confirmed the laws of her father, which had been set aside in the last short reign, and dispensed justice with rigid impartiality. A powerful confederation, formed against her, she effectually suppressed, and also a combination of Indian rajahs. She selected the right men for the right place, and would have in every probability ruled with entire satisfaction had she, so prudent in all other matters, not betrayed that she was not impervious to those softer influences, whose witchery lead captive the human heart. The object of her affections was one least calculated to soothe the wounded sensibilities of her native subjects. Her suspected idol was a foreigner—an Abyssinian. Insurrection followed, and he was the first victim. More than one Rizzio has been poinarded to avenge the suspected honour of a royal dame. She was made a captive, and her young brother raised to the throne. The imprisoned queen fascinated one of her nobility, they were married, and the connexion enabled him to raise an army. Many chiefs of distinction among the neighbouring clans proffered their fealty. The newly-levied force marched on the capital. The two armies met near Delhi; an obstinate conflict ensued. The queen was defeated; she fled to Bithunda. Her adherents were again, after some short time rallied, and in a condition to make a bold effort for the crown. Another defeat followed, and the queen and her husband were seized in their flight, and both put to death by the traitors, whose crimes could not be justified. If there be a similarity in the fates of the suspected paramours, can no parallel be drawn between the fates of the royal mistresses? Does the ill-fated Indian husband exhibit anything in common with the Scottish laird? The histories of nations most widely severed abound with pictures drawn from one original. Such is human nature!

While the Sultana Ruzea Begum was confined in the fort of Bithunda, her young brother Beiram ascended the throne, 1240. The year following intelligence reached the court at Delhi, that the danger which had been for some time approaching had at length reached their doors. The Mogul hordes of Jenghis Khan had invested Lahore; the troops had mutinied, the viceroy had fled, in consequence, by night, and was actually on his way to Delhi. Lahore was plundered by the enemy, and thousands of the inhabitants carried away into slavery. A general council of the state was summoned by royal proclamation, and a resolution adopted to send the vizier and the most experienced officers towards Lahore to oppose the Moguls. The unfortunate king was not aware that the vizier was his enemy; although, not long previously, he was implicated in a conspiracy against him. After the army had penetrated the Punjaub, and reached one of the five celebrated rivers of that country—whose geographical features have been, in recent years, disclosed by the British campaigns, and which, by that aid, are so fully and satisfactorily before the readers of this history, namely, the Beas, where the town of Sultanpore now stands—he began to sow the seeds of discontent in the minds of the officers; and to facilitate his ends he, in the interim, wrote privately to the king, imputing disaffection and sedition to several of the nobility, requesting that he would either come in person to the army or furnish him with ample power to punish the traitors. Though the prince had just grounds for suspecting the fidelity of his vizier, the wily minister had insinuated himself into his confidence, and he unfortunately gave full credence to his misrepresentations. Beiram replied, that the officers merited the punishment the vizier wished to have the authority to inflict; he at the same time recommended to him the exercise of the greatest amount of caution, and to lull them into an imaginary security till such evidence could be supplied as would leave their guilt unquestioned, and punishment could be inflicted with impunity and without apprehension of disagreeable results. This was the procedure which the crafty minister expected would be adopted, and which would best subserve the plans which he entertained. He produced this communication to the parties unsuspectingly implicated; he inflamed their minds with the bitterest animosity against their grossly abused sovereign, and misled them as to the accuser. He expressed to them his fears that he himself was an object of suspicion, and in as imminent danger as the most obnoxious of them. After some deliberation, the body of the implicated officers resolved to unite in support of the vizier against the king.

The news of this confederacy reached the king's ears; but it was now too late, the mischief was done. Instead of proceeding against the enemy, the army retraced their steps, and, influenced by the worst passions, sought the capital. Having arrived before the walls, they laid siege to it. For three months and a half the citizens stood faithfully by their sovereign. At length, when want and rumours had done their worst, disaffection began to pervade them too; and in May, 1241, both the city and the king became the prey of the rebel force. The unfortunate monarch was thrown into a dungeon. In a few days after he suffered death, after a short and troubled reign of two years and two months.

The anarchy and confusion which prevailed throughout the entire kingdom, on the capture of the city and of the king, gave confidence to faction, and an adventurer having forced his way into the palace, caused himself to be proclaimed king. His rule was of very brief duration: the morning ushered in his ascent to the throne—the evening smiled upon his successor, Alla-ood-Deen Musaood, a member of the royal family, but not the heir-apparent. The rebel vizier still maintained his influence, but he soon met the fate historical justice demanded; he was assassinated at the instigation of the nobles, to whom his overbearing pride, insolence, and crimes had rendered him odious.

In this reign, and in the year 1244, an army of Mogul Tartars made an incursion into Bengal, by way of Khutta and Thibet. Musaood sent a force to the aid of Toghan Khan, the governor of Bengal. The Moguls were completely defeated. The following year another army of Moguls, from Candahar and Talikhan, advanced as far as the Indus, and attacked Oocha. The king in person led an army against them, and when he had arrived on the banks of the Beas, they raised the siege, began to retreat, and finally evacuated the country. This prince was deposed after a reign of about four years, having disgusted his subjects by his scandalous debaucheries, and was succeeded by his uncle, Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood.

This prince, who was the son of the Sultan Altmish, was appointed by his father governor of Bengal; and on his death was imprisoned by the cruel queen, and released on her overthrow. His great military character, acquired in the wars with his Indian neighbours—his justice, sound policy, and the flourishing state of his province, attracted to him the attention of those who were the authors of the recent revolution. The historians aver that while in prison he disdained any support but that which he commanded by the exercise of his pen; and that when in power, he was the friend of the poor, the protector of the common people, and the patron of learning. It is related that when nominating his vizier to his high office, he assured him, that he confided his own honour to his loyalty and good conduct, he impressed upon him to do no act for which he could not answer to God. In 1247, he took the field and marched towards Mooltan, and thence proceeded to inflict punishment on the Gukkurs, for the assistance they had rendered to the Moguls in their incursions. Several thousands of them, without distinction of age or sex, were doomed to captivity. Several of the ancient nobles, who held estates in the Punjaub on a tenure similar to the feudal, who had not furnished the prescribed quota to the army, were deprived of their titles and carried prisoners to Delhi, and their fiefs conferred on their sons or relations on the former military tenure. The countries of the Punjaub and Mooltan were, by these wise and decisive precautions, reduced to entire subjection, and the king's authority firmly restored. In 1247, he led his army into the Doab, between the Ganges and the Jumna, and after an obstinate siege, captured the fort of Bithunda, now Bulundshehr; continuing his progress, he was met at Kurra by two rajahs with their combined forces. These he defeated, plundered their territories, and made prisoners of many of their families. They had previously overrun and pillaged all the country south of the Jumna, a portion of the dominions of Delhi, and had destroyed the king's garrisons from Malwa to Kurra. This exploit concluded this campaign. In 1249, at the head of a well-appointed force, he marched on Mooltan. The only result of this campaign worth record is, that he placed a governor in Nagore and Oocha, who, in the following year, attempted to throw off his allegiance, but was defeated, and obliged to sue for mercy. He was not only pardoned, but reinstated. His attention was then challenged to the hostile demonstrations of one of the Hindoo princes, Jahir Dew, who had recently fortified the strong fort of Nurwur, and prepared to defend it to the last extremity. On the approach of the Mohammedans he boldly marched out to oppose them, at the head of five thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot. He was defeated, and the fort, after a short siege, surrendered. He then subjugated Chundery and Malwa, established his authority there, and appointed a governor. In another quarter, at the same time, his viceroy of Lahore and Mooltan had repelled one of those frequently recurring attacks of the Moguls. Towards the latter end of 1257, a Mogul army crossed the Indus, but retired at the king's approach. In 1259, a confederation was formed of the rajahs and Rajpoots of Mewat, who, having collected a large force, plundered and devastated the surrounding country. On the approach of the Delhians they retired into the strong forts in the mountains of Sewalik, and also towards Runtunbhore, to which they laid siege. The Rajpoots, soon after descending in large force from their mountain fastnesses, made a violent and terrible attack upon their invaders; they were, however, at length repelled back to their hills with great slaughter. The captive chiefs were put to death, and the rest were confined to perpetual slavery.

One of those glimpses at other public affairs than military, which unfortunately so seldom present themselves in the histories of nations, is had in an embassy which arrived at the close of this reign in Delhi, from the court of Persia. The vizier went out to meet it in state, with a train of fifty thousand foreign horse then in the service, two thousand elephants, and three thousand carriages of fireworks. The ambassador was conducted, amid some feats of horsemanship in sham fights and a magnificent display, through the city, direct to the palace. There, the court was arranged in the most gorgeous style; all the nobles and public officers of state, the judges, the mullahs, and the great men of the city were present, besides twenty-five princes of Irak-Ajum, Khorassan, &c., with their retinues. Many tributary Indian princes also were there, and stood next to the throne.

This prince, whose memory is still cherished, died 1266, after a brilliant reign of twenty years. Contrary to the custom of other Indian princes, he had no concubines, and but one wife, whom he obliged to attend to the humblest part of domestic duties; and after his accession to the throne, he continued to purchase his food by the fruits of his pen.

Among the leading incidents in the reign of his successor, Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun—a prince who was worthy of the throne, though also a slave—are the following:—None but men of merit and family were admitted to any public office; his justice and wisdom were themes of general approbation; he used to affirm that one of the greatest sources of the pride of his reign was, that upwards of fifteen unfortunate sovereigns—who had been driven from their respective realms by Jenghis Khan—had found an honourable asylum at his court, which was esteemed the most polite and magnificent in the world, and was the resort of all the distinguished wits and *litterati* of Asia, a society of whom met frequently, as did also another of musicians, dancers, actors, and story-tellers; and various other societies were established and patronised. The use and manufacture of fermented liquors was prohibited under the severest penalties. His political foresight was clearly shown when, on being advised to undertake an expedition to reduce Gujerat and Malwa once more to the Mohammedan yoke, which they had thrown off in a previous reign, he replied, he would not assent to such measures, when the Mogul Tartars were become so powerful in the north, having conquered all the Mussulman princes; that he thought it wiser to secure what he possessed than leave his country exposed to foreign invasion. When the exigences of the empire rendered unavoidable an appeal to arms, he proved himself as accomplished in the pursuits of war as of peace. The revolt of the Mewatties—the inhabitants of mountains eighty miles to the north of Delhi—was met with terrible retribution—a hundred thousand of them were put to the sword; their forests were cut down, and soon converted into arable land. The Moguls suffered severely from his arms; and Togrol Khan, the rebellious ruler of Bengal, though he had destroyed two armies sent against him, was at length slain, the king having, in person, led an army against him. He died in the eightieth year of his age, 1286, after a reign of twenty-one years: the Indian Mohammedans designate it glorious.

The closing scene of the dynasty was reached in the reign of the successor of the late king, who, though not the immediate heir, was by birth the heir in reversion. In the absence of his father—governor of Bengal—Kerkobar was placed on the throne. During his reign the Moguls, who for some time have been playing no inconsiderable part in the northern provinces of India, had risen to such power and influence in the court of Delhi, that they were enabled to carry matters with a very high hand, yet professing great attachment to the royal family. The reigning sovereign having been paralysed, the Mogul omrahs contrived to secure the person of the young prince, an infant, three years of age. At this time there was no man in Delhi who had greater influence than Ferose, of the family of Khilji, who was the leader of the native party. A proclamation was issued proscribing, by name, the principal men of the Kiljies; but they escaped the danger, and soon after rescued the young prince from them, had his helpless father assassinated, and raised to the throne their chief Ferose. The young prince was also soon murdered, and thus ended the Slave Dynasty, and the rise of the royal house of Khilji.

The Khiljies were of Tartar origin, as well as their predecessors, the Ghoorians. Ferose was in the seventieth year of his age when he waded through the blood of his sovereign and infant son to the throne. His moderation and general conduct, having once secured his position, stand in strange contrast with the means he employed. He professed the deepest regret for his conduct, and great respect for his predecessors; and when a member of the fallen house had made an unsuccessful effort to restore its prostrate fortunes, he was not only pardoned, but had an estate conferred upon him. He became a patron of men of letters, and acquired a character for humanity and benevolence. Early in his reign, a hundred thousand Moguls invaded Hindostan; he led an army in person to oppose them. The Moguls, after an obstinate conflict, were defeated. He did not avail himself of the opportunity presented of inflicting punishment upon them; on the contrary, he granted them peace and permission to withdraw from his dominions. In consequence of this lenity, and with the ambition of all adventurers who dream of acquiring on a strange arena those distinctions which they despair of ever receiving at home, Oghloo Khan, grandson of Jenghiz Khan, entered into his service with three thousand followers, and had conferred upon him, shortly after, the hand of the daughter of his new sovereign. The Moguls all embraced Islam, and erected a city called Mogulpore.

The principal event of this reign was the extension, for the first time, of the arms of the Mohammedans into the Deccan, 1294. Alla-ood-Deen, the king's nephew, who had been appointed governor of Kurra—the capital of which, of the same name, stood on the Ganges, on the route from Allahabad to Cawnpore, about forty miles north-west from the former—requested permission to attack the Hindoos of Bhilsa, who infested his province. This was conceded. He, without delay, marched against them, subdued them, and returned with a large booty, collected in the pillage of the country, a part of which he sent as a present to the king. The latter was very much pleased both by the success and conduct of his relative, and in return annexed Oude to his government. On his preferment, he informed the king that not far from his territories there were some rajahs of immense wealth, whom, if he were permitted, he would in a very short time reduce to subjection. The bait was too tempting for the old king; he gave his consent. Accordingly, 1294, he commenced his preparations for future conquests, probably with the hope of establishing a new empire in the central provinces of the peninsula. He conciliated many chiefs of high distinction, the adherents of the fallen dynasty. With a body of eight thousand chosen horse, he proceeded by the shortest road against the rajah of the Deccan, who possessed the wealth of a long line of kings. Though he was opposed with great gallantry, he was successful. The probability is, that the unsuspecting and inoffensive Hindoo king was taken by surprise, and had no resources but those which he improvised to meet the danger. He pillaged the capital, seized on the merchants, Brahmins, and principal citizens, and put them to the torture to coerce them to disclose their hidden treasures. Having received from th unfortunate prince between twelve and fifteen thousand pound weight of gold, besides a large quantity of pearls and jewels, and retained the elephants which he had taken in the royal stables, he released his prisoners, and agreed to quit the country on the fifteenth day from his first entry. The unprincipled adventurer found pretexts for violating the terms of his treaty; he exacted a far larger amount, and obtained a permanent footing, by the cession of Elichpore and its dependencies, in which he placed a garrison. The Mohammedan historian observes, "that there is scarcely anything on record to be compared with this exploit, whether regard is paid to the resolution in devising the plan, boldness in its execution, or the great good fortune attending its execution." Frenzied with wealth and success, his passions were inflamed; and one of the objects which he contemplated was the destruction of his indulgent uncle; who, notwithstanding the remonstrances and warnings of his nearest and dearest friends, placed himself defencelessly in his power, and suffered death in his presence for his temerity. And thus was avenged, by a blow from him who was among the nearest and dearest to him, the royal blood that had been shed for the possession of a crown.

An abortive effort was made to place the son of the deceased on the throne. The reputation acquired for military skill and enormous wealth, opened the way for the unnatural assassin, Alla-ood-Deen. The young king and dowager queen sought safety in flight, and the usurper entered Delhi in triumph. The people were for days sumptuously feasted; largesses were liberally bestowed; and, as is the case with usurpers in every age and in every clime, men of the highest reputation and greatest popularity for the exercise of the nobler virtues, were called to his councils, and a degree of moderation assumed to mollify the aversion which crime invariably generates even in the breasts of the degraded. Though fortune smiled on the earlier days of his reign, his horizon was soon darkened by lowering clouds, massing from all points. He again crimsoned his hands in the blood of the male members of the late king's family. Scarcely had this series of murders been perpetrated, when an invasion of India by the Moguls was announced, and they soon made their appearance in Lahore. They were defeated with great loss. This invasion was the prelude to several others—six in all—which were a continuous source of trouble and anxiety through this reign, though they were defeated in each attempt. His dearest friends deserted him. The assassin's knife, from which on one occasion he barely escaped with his life, was a constant cause of terror. His subjects were smitten with famine; his sons became objects of suspicion; to blunt the pricks of conscience, he indulged in intemperance and excess, and ruined his constitution. When reduced to a bed of sickness, his wife and son abandoned him; and to crown all, the flames of insurrection, long smouldering, at the close of his days began to burst forth. The first manifestation was in Gujerat, which he had subdued in the earlier part of his reign. His general, sent to suppress the outbreak, was taken prisoner and suffered a cruel death; in another quarter, the Rajpoots of Chittoor threw the Mohammedan officers over their walls, and asserted their independence. While the Deccan, which he had likewise subdued, rose in arms and drove the Mohammedans from several of the garrisons. This retributive accumulation of providential visitations excited him to the extreme paroxysm of fury; he frantically bit his own flesh; his grief and rage intensified his disorders, and baffled all medical experience. In this terrible state of mental and bodily anguish, he was sent before his Maker and his Judge, —not without the suspicion of having been poisoned by a villain whom he had raised from the dust to power,—in the year 1316, and twenty-first year of his reign.

A spurious will was produced by the courtier who was suspected of hastening his end, in which his youngest son was named his successor, and the wretch himself guardian and regent. The two eldest sons he had deprived of sight, and a third was in prison awaiting a like fate. The protector had, in the meantime, married the mother of the young king. These events were crowded into a very short space; for on the thirty-fifth day after the death of Alla-ood-Deen, the regent was dispatched by the indignant foot-guards, who, to prevent further crimes contemplated by him, entered his apartment and struck him down in the presence of some of his confederates. The young prince, his tool, Omar Khan, made way for his elder brother and legitimate heir to the father.

Mobarik Khilji ascended the throne in 1317. The officers of the guards who, with their swords, had cut his way to the throne, met with an unexpected requital; they were put to death on no better pretence than that they had presumed too much on their services. The first acts of his reign were to incapacitate his infant brother from aspiring to the sovereignty, by depriving him of his sight; and, as if to atone for this unnatural but customary barbarity of Indian princes, he liberated seventeen thousand prisoners, recalled the exiles, gave free access to all suitors, restored the confiscated lands, and gradually abolished all the obnoxious restrictions by which commerce had been restricted, as also the heavy taxes and tributes exacted by his father. In the first year of his reign an insurrection was spiritedly suppressed in Gujerat, and in the second he led an army into the Deccan, to chastise Harpul, who there had raised the standard of independence, and, having been unsuccessful, was put to death with severities worthy of the son of Alla-ood-Deen. The elevation of his low minions to power did more perhaps than the excesses in which he shamelessly indulged, and his outrages of all decency, to alienate the respect and attachment of his subjects. His especial favourite was Mullik Khosrow, a Hindoo renegade of the lowest caste, whom he even honoured with the ensigns of royalty, and had raised to the government of Gujerat. In fact, Khosrow had become the source of all honours and promotions, and, from his many acts of cruelty, an object of universal abhorrence. From the date of his elevation he was a traitor at heart; and though reports were made of his treason to his master, such was his influence, that no attention was paid to them, and he enjoyed unbounded confidence, and even slept in the king's apartment. The palace was filled with his creatures, and every facility was thus, imprudently, afforded for the execution of his design. The king and his palace being in the hands of the conspirators, his projected fate was a subject of common conversation in the city, but, knowing the influence of the favourite, none dared to communicate the danger but one, and that was Kazi, his tutor when a youth. He gained access, honestly and plainly revealed the plot, assured him of its notoriety, and recommended immediate measures for the apprehension of the traitor. At this identical moment Khosrow, who had been a listener to the conversation, entered in female apparel, with all the assumed airs of a coquettish girl. The infatuated prince, yielding to his affection, stood up and embraced him, and dismissed the warning from his mind. The following night Kazi, still apprehensive of the danger, could not rest. He went out at midnight to see whether the guards were on the alert. In his rounds, he met with Khosrow's uncle, who engaged him in conversation; with a sabre cut from behind he was brought to the ground, leaving him only strength enough to cry out, "Treason! Treason! Murder and treason are on foot!" His attendants fled and gave the alarm, proclaiming the assassination of their master. The guards started up in confusion, but before they could act, were attacked by the conspirators and massacred. The king, alarmed by the tumult, asked Khosrow, who lay in his apartment, the cause. The villain arose as if to inquire. By some feigned explanation he diverted his attention till the conspirators approached the royal apartment, and slew the chamber attendants. Hearing the clash of armour and the groans of dying men, Mobarik sprang up in great alarm, and ran towards the harem by a private passage. At this moment Khosrow, fearing he might escape, pursued him, seized him by the hair, and the deed of blood was completed by the other conspirators; with a stroke of a scimitar, his head was severed from his body, and flung ignominiously into the courtyard; and thus says Ferishta, "the vengeance of God overtook and exterminated the race of Alla-ood-Deen, for his ingratitude to his uncle Feroze, and for the streams of innocent blood which flowed from his hands."

Khosrow seized the sceptre, and endeavoured by promotions and promises to win over the chief men to his side; with some he succeeded, while others fled to enrol themselves under the command of Ghazi Beg Toghluk, governor of Lahore, Depalpore, and the Punjaub, who marched to Delhi, and after having defeated the usurper, who was dragged from a tomb in which he had sought an asylum and put to death, was proclaimed king, A.D. 1321.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE DYNASTY OF TOGHLUK.—INVASION OF TAMERLANE.—THE DYNASTIES OF SYUD AND LODI.

The ancestry of the Toghluk dynasty has not been recorded, but Ferishta states when he was at Lahore, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, there was a tradition that the father of the first of this line was the son of a Turkish slave. When Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk had succeeded in dethroning Khosrow, he assured the people that he would support the object of their selection. As might be expected, apparent moderation was an additional stimulant to bestow on him the vacant throne, to which, by his services, he was best entitled, as the last monster had extirpated every member of the royal family, old and young. Toghluk's administrative capacity soon restored to order the anarchy and confusion which were prevalent. He repaired the neglected fortifications, encouraged commerce, invited men of learning to his court. A code of laws was instituted, founded upon the Koran, and, his historians say, conformable to the ancient usages of the Delhi monarchy. His immediate relatives, as a safeguard to the yet new and infirm government, were entrusted with the highest offices of the state. The next measures were ones of defence. Troops were stationed along the frontiers of Cabul, and forts erected, and strongly garrisoned, to repel the incursions of the Moguls. Such was the wisdom with which these measures were conceived, planned, and executed, that during the whole of his reign he was released from those incursions, the constant irritants of many of his predecessors, and the total ruin of a successor.

Hoping for impunity in the first unstable stages of an upstart house, the Hindoos—who always loathed the intrusive stranger, however long located, and detested the Mussulman and his sword-taught creed—thought this a favourable opportunity to strike again for independence. The rajahs of Wurrungole and Dewgur had refused to send tribute, having become disaffected. Sudder Dew, the Rajah of Wurrungole, opposed the Moslems with spirit, but was at length driven under shelter of his walls. The siege, conducted by the son of Toghluk, was carried on with severe loss to both sides. The town had been recently so strongly fortified, the assailants could make no breach; indeed, the followers of Mohammed were never skilled in siege operations. A malignant distemper, the effect of hot winds, broke out in the camp of the besiegers, which swept away hundreds every day. They were at length obliged to desist. Their retreat was disastrous; thousands perished by pestilence and the sword; and of all the many thousands who formed that army, only three thousand returned to Delhi. In a short time a more numerous army beleaguered Wurrungole, and compelled it to surrender. Expeditions were also sent against Jagnuggur and Tirhoot. In the midst of these successes, Toghluk lost his life by the fall of a temporary erection prepared for his reception by his son, Aluf Khan, who succeeded him, after a reign of four years, A.D. 1325.

This prince assumed the title of Mohammed Toghluk, and such was the joy of the people on his succession, that in his progress through Delhi the streets were strewed with flowers, and every demonstration of joy was exhibited; his munificence had no limit but his means; he not only patronized literary men, but shone eminently among them; and his letters, both in Arabic and Persian, are said to display so much taste, elegance, and good sense, that they are still studied as models of purity. Many other accomplishments are ascribed to him. There is one stain on his character which blots all these amiable traits,—he was without mercy or compunction, and so little did he hesitate to spill human blood, that one might have supposed his object was to exterminate his species. The Mogul incursions, by the absence of which the reign of his father was so happily distinguished, were again renewed. Before his government was settled, a Mogul chief of great fame invaded Hindostan, at the head of a vast army, with the design of subjugating the entire peninsula. He overran Lumghan, Mooltan, the northern provinces, and advanced rapidly on Delhi. Mohammed, unable to oppose this overwhelming force, sued for peace. He secured a temporary respite by the payment of a ransom nearly equivalent to the value of the empire. This disaster did not subdue Mohammed's passion for appropriation. He so completely subjected the distant provinces of Dwar-Sumoodra, Maabir, Kumpila, Wurrungole, Lucknow, Chittagong, and Soonargam, that they were as effectively incorporated with the empire as the suburban villages of Delhi. He likewise conquered the Carnatic to the shores of "Oman's dark waters." Brief was his hold upon them. In the succeeding storm which shook his hereditary empire to its deepest foundations he was obliged to relax his grasp of all these conquests, with the exception of Gujerat. The drains made upon the finances of the country to meet his extravagance, and for the equipment of his extensive armaments, were to be met some way. The booty collected from the plundered conquests were inadequate to the requirements. The repeated predatory excursions of his predecessors had dissipated many of the royal treasures, the accumulation of a succession of ages. There remained to him only one resource, the last a prodigal monarch has to fly to,—the plunder of his own subjects under the name and form of law: an expedient, too, which has been fraught with the most disastrous results to those who have hazarded it. The heavy taxes levied on the inhabitants of the Doab[*] and other provinces, the substitution of copper money for silver by public decree, the exaction of half a million of horses for his campaigns, the indiscriminate massacre of Mohammedans and Hindoos, produced general discontent, which soon ripened into disaffection; public credit was destroyed, and famine and pestilence aggravated the mischief. The copper money, for want of proper regulations, produced evils of equal magnitude. A curious passage occurs on the latter cause of grievance in Ferishta, which is here extracted; not so much in elucidation of the financial derangement in the kingdom of Delhi, at this remote period, as to place within the reach of the money-mongers a precedent for a paper currency, which, it appears, could not have been known to the bank historians, Gilbart, Lawson, and Francis. This expedient is far older than "the bills of exchange," the wonderful invention of the early Italian merchants, the Lombards, who came over and established themselves in London in the street which bears their name; and than "the receipts the goldsmiths issued," in the days of the protectorate,[†] "for the money lodged at their houses, which circulated from hand to hand, and were known by the name of goldsmiths' notes, which may be considered the first kind of notes issued in England."[‡]

"The king," says Ferishta, "unfortunately for his people, adopted his ideas upon currency from a Chinese custom of using paper on the emperor's credit, with the royal seal appended, in lieu of ready money. Mohammed, instead of stamped paper, struck a copper coin, which he issued at an imaginary value, and caused it to pass current by a decree throughout Hindostan. The mint was under bad regulations. Bankers acquired fortunes by coinage. Foreign merchants made their payments in copper to the home manufacturers, though they themselves received in exchange solid silver and gold in foreign markets. There was so much corruption practised in the mint, that for a premium to those persons who had the management of it, merchants had their coin struck considerably below the value, and these abuses were connived at by the government. The great calamity, however, consequent upon this debasement of the coin, arose from the known instability of the government. How could the people in the remote provinces receive for money the base representative of a treasury that so often changed its master?"[*] Such was the popular fermentation, that the king was obliged to call in the copper currency, the treasury was emptied, and there still remained a large balance due. This debt the king struck off, and thousands were ruined. The scheme terminated in the exhaustion of the treasury, and bankers and merchants were enriched at the expense of their sovereign and the people. The armies levied for grand projects of further conquests —indeed, nothing less than all Persia and Tartary — were in arrear, and breaking up into independent bands, carried ruin and destruction through the length and breadth of the land. A project was conceived, by the king and his advisers, as wild as any that animated the adventurous speculators of the concluding part of the seventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth century, nearer home. This was nothing less than the conquest of China. An early intercourse had existed between the two countries, and a vast number of the Indians were united with them as fellow disciples of Buddha. Mohammed had heard of its great wealth, and already possessed it in imagination. This ideal wealth, like an enchanter's spell, he fondly hoped would resolve all his difficulties, and realize the dreams of his ambition. One obstacle intervened, and that was the hardy mountaineers of Nepaul, which lay on the confines of both empires. To overcome this was the first step: one hundred thousand cavalry were sent on this service, and when the Indians came in sight of the promised land, wearied by their toilsome journey, and with numbers considerably reduced, a large army was ready to receive them. To add to their hardships, the commissariat was in an impoverished state, the rainy season, so detrimental to Indian campaigning, was at hand, and their country was at a great distance; the troops decided on retreat. The mountaineers seized their baggage, and the Chinese hung on their rear. Hemmed in on all sides, they perished in the defiles; scarcely a man returned to relate their fate.

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[*] A district situated between two rivers.

[†] Francis's *History of the Bank of England*, vol. i. p. 10.

[‡] Ibid., p. 28.

[*] Ferishta, vol. i. p. 414.

The king was so much pleased with the situation and strength of Dewgur, and its more central position, that he translated thither the seat of his government, and evacuated Delhi, then the envy of the East. Men, women, and children, were driven to remove, with all their portable possessions: on this project much wealth was foolishly lavished.

A series of revolts followed, in which the royal troops generally were victorious. The one exception was a revolt in the Deccan, excited by apprehensions that preparations were being made by the Moslems for the massacre of all the natives—the Hindoos. The result was that the former were expelled from the entire country, except the capital, the late residence of the court. The revolt of the king's troops in this province quickly followed, and in rapid succession an insurrection in Malwa, and another in Gujerat; previous to this the Punjaub had been invaded by the fierce Affghans, and immediately after by the Gukkurs. But the most formidable of all the wars, one which occupied him to the close of his life, was that into which, by his impolitic proceedings, he forced the Ameer Judeeda.* On his march to punish the Rajah of Scinde for his protection to these, he terminated his eventful life by having surfeited himself with fish (A. D. 1351), after a reign of twenty-seven years.

His cousin Feroze, who was fortunately in the camp, was proclaimed king by the army, and by the dying injunction of the late king. The Mogul portion of the troops had risen, and plundered the royal treasury. The first care of Feroze was to inflict punishment on the Mogul auxiliaries. Ambassadors were received at his court from Bengal and the Deccan, which had thrown off the yoke, and whose treasons had not been punished in consequence of the occupation which other quarters had given the king. This reception was an official acknowledgment of the independence of these provinces of the kingdom of Delhi; the only fealty which they henceforth (1356) exhibited, was the payment of a very small tribute. In 1358 the Moguls made an incursion as far as Depalpore; but before an army dispatched to oppose them arrived, they had retired, laden with spoils. In the year 1359 Feroze marched in the direction of Lucknow. In his progress he reduced to terms the governor of Jektulla, laid waste the territories of Songhur and Jagnuggur, and then returned to Delhi. He subsequently marched towards the mountains of Nagrakote, where he punished the rajah, but left him in possession of his territories. A singular anecdote is recorded of this visit by the Mohammedans. They relate that the inhabitants informed Feroze that the idol which the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Nagrakote was the image of Now Shaba, the wife of Alexander the Great. In this temple they also relate was a library of Hindoo books, consisting of one thousand three hundred volumes—a large collection, considering they were all manuscript. He then proceeded down the Indus to Tutta, to check a rebellion. Wearied by age, and the cares of state, he surrendered his sceptre to his son, in 1387.

There survive many testimonials of the attention which this prince paid to the development of the natural resources of the country, and particularly to extend its water intercourse. He constructed a canal from the Sutlej to the Kugur; another between the hills of Mundvy and Surmore, from the Jumna, into which he conducted seven minor streams, which all uniting flowed through Hansi, and thence to Raiseen,* where he built a strong fort, which he called Hissar Feroza; he conveyed an aqueduct from the Kugur over the river Soorsutty to the village of Pery Kerah, where he founded the city of Ferozabad. He cut another canal from the Jumna, which filled a large lake, which he constructed at Hissar Feroza. In the vicinity of the city of Perwar, there was a hill, out of which ran a stream that discharged itself into the Sutlej, and beyond it a smaller one,—named respectively the Soorsutty and the Sulima,—and between them a mound, which, if cut through, the water of the former would flow into the latter, and then to Soonam, through Sirhind and Munsoorpore, which would not fail at any season of water. To effect this desirable object, he set fifty thousand men to the task, in the execution of which "they exhumed the bones of elephants—more probably mastodons—and men. The bones of the human forearm," says Ferishta, "measured three guz (five feet two inches); some were petrified, and some retained the appearance of bone;"† a fort was built there, still called Ferozepore; nine hundred of his public works are enumerated. Such details as these, though not so thrilling as the neigh of war steeds, clash of armour, or groans of men, are the true materials of history, and the genuine records of greatness.

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* Ameer-Judeeda—new officers—was a name conferred on the newly-converted Moguls and their descendants, who, having invaded India, had embraced the Mohammedan religion, and the service of the kings of Delhi, at the same time. Being foreigners, without local partialities, they were considered to be the best instruments for carrying into effect the orders of a despotic prince. They were bold, spirited, and soon shook off their allegiance. See Briggs's *Ferishta*.

* There is a town of this name in Malwa also.

† Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 453.

Feroze, who had resigned in favour of his son Mohammed, in consequence of that prince's misconduct was obliged to resume the reins of government, which in a short time he delivered into the hands of his grandson, Futteh Khan. The old king died in the ninetieth year of his age (1388).

Futteh Khan, on ascending the throne, assumed the title of Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk. This young prince soon abandoned himself to sensual indulgences. When these have "withered up the feeling," the other animal passions luxuriate unchecked; his jealousy was soon awakened and developed, his brother and other relations were its victims; at length, deserted by those whom nature had bound to him, he fell a victim to the vengeance of his enemies, after a reign of five months.

His immediate successor was his cousin, Prince Zuffur, though his uncle, by whose imprudence he himself had mounted the throne, was living, but in exile. The reign of this young prince, who assumed the title of Aboo-Bukhr Toghluk, was also cut short. The Ameer Judeeda of Samana had assassinated their chief, Mullik Sultan, and sent his head to prince Mohammed, the son of Feroze, who had forfeited his father's respect, and then the throne, by his vices. At the same time they earnestly entreated him to come and assert his rights. He complied with their invitation, proclaimed himself king, and at the head of an army marched on Delhi. Mohammed, having sustained some repulses, was at length successful, and made the ruling prince prisoner, in the year 1390, after a reign of one year and six months.

Nasir-ood-Deen Mohammed Toghluk II. first, as has been said, ascended the throne in his father's lifetime. He had been scarcely reinstated when an insurrection broke out in Gujerat. The chief sent to quell it rebelled, and declared himself independent. Similar movements agitated Lahore and Mooltan; indeed, the empire, from the recent convulsion, seemed shaken to the core, ready to fall to pieces, and to become the prey of the first vigorous adventurer. The vizier fell under false suspicions, and on the accusation of his own nephew suffered death. The king, in 1392, set out on a campaign to Mewat to quell some disturbances in that quarter. He was attacked with fever, and, while in an enfeebled state, was informed that an enemy had plundered the country to the very gates of Delhi. Though far from recovered, he hastened to Mewat, attacked and totally routed the foe, and compelled him to fly. Another outbreak in Lahore his son was dispatched to suppress, but before the prince left Delhi, news of his father's decease was brought to him; the king had succumbed to a relapse. He died after a reign of six years and seven months (1394), and was followed by his son and successor, Hoomayoon, in forty-five days after.

The premature demise of the youthful sovereign Hoomayoon gave occasion to intrigues and violent disputes amongst the nobles for the vacant throne. Their choice was eventually fixed on Mahmood, whom they selected for their sovereign. The minority of the king, and the jarring interests of the various factions, had rendered the government so weak that the vassals of the crown thought a favourable opportunity had presented itself for the assertion of their independence, and they did not hesitate long to avail themselves of it. Kuraja Jehan, the minister of the last king, and who was not removed by the reigning prince, established an independent kingdom at Juanpore, and became so powerful as to be able to impose tribute on the older one of Bengal. This dynasty was called Shurkeea, to distinguish it from that of Bengal, the capital of which was Lucknow, and called Poorbeah, both towns signifying eastern. To the west Sarung Khan, governor of Mooltan and the north-western provinces, had defeated the Gukkurs, and shortly after (1395), seizing on Mooltan, aggrandized his power. The state of the kingdom promised him every facility of accomplishing more ambitious designs still. The kingdom was at this time distracted; the government had fallen into anarchy; civil war raged everywhere; two kings in arms, equally supported, and with alternating advantages, held their courts in the one capital—a thing unprecedented in that kingdom. Sarung Khan advanced towards Delhi and reduced Samana, but he shortly after suffered an effective check. An army was dispatched against him by one of the rival kings; he was defeated, and compelled to fly to Mooltan. Here he was besieged for six months, and eventually reduced to surrender at discretion through want of provisions. Mooltan was occupied by the royal troops, but Sarung Khan contrived to escape. In the interim Mahmood was reduced by his supporters to a state of abject dependance, and was king only in name, while his rival had been defeated and obliged to seek refuge in a remote dependency. Mulloo Yekb Khan, the general of the victorious army, now marched, accompanied by the pageant king, Mahmood, against the pretender Noorut Shah, and his protector, Tartar Khan, Paniput, by whom a counter movement on Delhi was attempted without success. Tartar Khan, thus frustrated, fled to Gujerat. The victorious general entered the capital again, and began to establish order, and remedy the disastrous effects produced by the convulsions of the past. The process of reorganization was interrupted by a danger which had long afflicted, and still further threatened the state, namely, the incursions of the Moguls, which in this instance had assumed the most formidable dimensions, and was about to discharge their concentrated and indiscriminate fury on the doomed inhabitants of Hindostan. Timour Beg, better known to the Westerns as Tamerlane,* had crossed the Indus with preparations commensurate with the undertaking, and thus were the miseries of this unhappy people completed.

Tamerlane—the more general and classic name of this hero—was a descendant, by the female line, of Jenghis Khan, previously mentioned in this history. He was the son of Taragai, whose fourth ancestor, Karashar Novian, of the noble tribe of the Barlass, had been the vizier of Zagatai, the son of Jenghis Khan. His father had feudal possession of the province of Kesh. His birthplace was Resch, one of its towns situated about one hundred and thirty miles to the east of Bokhara, and about thirty south-east of Samarcand.† He was born A. D. 1336 (A. H. 736). His first aspirations were for conquest, and from the first stage of youth he ambitioned to be the ruler of the world. Among the traditions pertaining to his birth, it is stated that on that interesting event he made his *débût* with his hand firmly grasping clotted blood. His first exercises were of a martial character. He acquired a perfect mastery of the lance and in sword exercises; the most fiery steeds were soon subjected to his control; he delighted in the pursuit of the fiercest and most dangerous animals; and by the great superiority of his genius and fixity of purpose, he obtained absolute control over his high-spirited and impetuous playmates. Conquests and thrones were the subjects of even his commonplace conversations. At the early age of twelve years he entered on his military career, but the first historical recognition of him was in his twenty-fifth year. On the death of his father at this period, his uncle, by seniority, as was the custom of his clan, succeeded him. The contentions with which the province of Transoxiana was torn, opened to Tamerlane a career which he embraced with ardour. The empire of Zagatai, from its foundation, bore within its bosom the germs of rapid decay. The insubordination and repeated revolts of the Novians * had enfeebled the authority of the sovereign. Twenty khans had succeeded each other in less than a generation. Cazan, the last of the line, had become detestable by his tyranny, and perished in an engagement with his revolted emirs.† In those disturbances the uncle had played no insignificant part, and, in one of the vicissitudes of his faction, had to fly, and seek an asylum in Khorassan. But Tamerlane, his nephew, submitted to the victor, and thus became the chieftain of his clan, and was confirmed in the possession of his principality of Kesh, and in the command of ten thousand men. At the age of twenty-seven he rendered very important services to the Emir of Khorassan and Transoxiana against the Getes, who were devastating his territories. The emir, as a recognition of his worth, bestowed on him his sister in marriage, but after her death Tamerlane commenced hostilities against his brother-in-law, captured the capital of his territories—the venerable city of Balk. The fortress was razed, the emir's children perished, and his property, treasures, and harem became the prey of the conqueror. This event occurred in 1370, and placed the kingdom of Zagatai at the conqueror's mercy. Tamerlane selected Samarcand for the seat of government, which he strongly fortified, and richly embellished with palaces and gardens. His recent elevation seemed to him a mere glimpse of the glorious vista before him; with an ambition inferior to none of the greater conquerors who preceded him, he looked upon the earth as his and his only. "There is but one God in heaven," said Tamerlane, "so there must be but one lord on earth." Having subjugated Turan, that is, the country beyond the Oxus, he turned his mind to the acquisition of Iran on this side of that river, where a number of independent principalities had risen on the ruins of the empire of Jenghis Khan. He soon attached the provinces of Khorassan, Siestan, and Sabulistan, and then commenced his first war against Persia proper, which occupied him during three years. The Persian empire presented a spectacle similar to that which was presented in Delhi on his approach to that capital. Two rival houses divided the regal sway, and incapacitated the Persians from offering a combined and effective resistance. These were the dynasties of Mosasser, in Persian Irak, and the province of Fars (Persis), and that of Ilchane, in Arabian Irak, and Azerbijan, or Atropatane. Shadshesha, who then ruled in the former, submitted without opposition, and gave his daughter in marriage to the grandson of Tamerlane. Sultan Ahmed, the sovereign of the latter, resisted, but was soon overpowered, and compelled to make submission. The adjacent states followed the example—Georgia, Shirwan, Gilan, Armenia, and Mesopotamia, as well as Persia, bowed their necks, and accepted the yoke of the conqueror. During the campaign of Tamerlane in Persia, Tokatmish Khan, of Western or Great Tartary, who, twelve years previously, by his aid, had been raised to the throne, now raised the standard of independence. He soon received the punishment his temerity provoked. The army which had triumphed in Persia was poured upon devoted Tartary. The Djettes and other nations of Mongolistan were conquered; the Czars Khodja Aglyn and Kamar-eddyn, their sovereigns, were pursued to the Irtesch. The officers of the army of Tamerlane marked for posterity the extent of their north-western conquests, by the representations of their armours and national devices, burned into the trunks of the gigantic pines which, in extensive forests, wave over the banks of that river. Tokatmish sought refuge in flight, having sustained a decisive defeat near the banks of the *Volga*. The following winter (1391) was spent by Tamerlane in the midst of festivities at Samarcand, and there he hurried forward preparations for his next campaign. He quitted his winter quarters (1392), and entered on an expedition of five years' duration, during which he completed the subjugation of Persia, captured Bagdad and the fortresses of Mesopotamia, pursued his successes in Armenia and Georgia, defeated Tokatmish a second time, and having crossed the Danube, the Dneiper, and the Don, penetrated into Russia, and conquered the sacred city, and afterwards Moscow.

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* *Timour*, *Demour*, or *Demir*, is the Mongolian term of iron. Tamerlane is a corruption of Timourlenk, *i. e.* the lame Timour. His lameness was occasioned by a wound received at a siege in the early part of his military career, according to Sherefeddin. For the full particulars of the life of this extraordinary man the reader is referred to his own institutes, and the pages of Arabsha and Sherefeddin. The former was a native of Damascus, and well versed in the Mohammedan law. He died A.D. 1450. A translation of the Arabian work has been given in the French by Vatier. Sherefeddin was born at Yezd, in Persia proper. His work is also translated into French by M. Petit de la Croix, and from the French into English (London, 1723). The full title of Tamerlane when at the summit of his power was, Sultan Riamram Cothbeddyn Timour Kourkhan Saheb-Keran.

† Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. i. p. 285.

* Novian, an hereditary title borne by the descendants of kings only.

† Emir and Beg are synonymous titles, and equally designate a prince, commander, chief, &c. The former is Arabic, the latter Turkish.

Some cessation was required after these events which crowded the five years' absence. The following year he spent in Transoxiana, in the midst of fêtes and amusements. He had a magnificent palace erected in the environs of his capital; he bestowed on his son Chah-Rokh the sovereignty of Khorassan, of Siestan, and Mazanderan, as far as Ferouzkouh and Ree, and sent him to reside at Herat. He received an ambassador from the emperor of China, and, though in the sixty-second year of his age, he contracted another marriage. His vigour and activity had not as yet been impaired. He was during this time preparing not only the most brilliant but also the most difficult of his enterprizes. He resolved on the conquest of Hindostan, and must have been encouraged to this undertaking by the pitiable state of that great country, particularly by the distraction, which had been only partially subdued, when all the states of that country were startled by the rapid approach of the terrible Tamerlane, flushed with victories, and an appetite sharpened for more. His emirs, surfeited with wealth and honours, were opposed to this campaign. He had recourse to the Koran to remove their opposition, and showed the piety of a war against nations, the great majority of whose population were steeped in idolatry. His grandson, Pir-Mohammed, was sent forward with an army of observation. Tamerlane departed from Samarcand in the end of March, 1398, and attacked, in their snow-capped mountains, the inhabitants, who were detestable in his eyes, not only as idolaters, but also as banditti, and put great numbers to the sword. His own dangers and losses were very severe, and many of the horses perished of cold and fatigue. He also conquered and destroyed many tribes of Affghans. After a wearisome march of six months he arrived on the banks of the Indus, and passed it by a bridge of boats at the same spot where it had been passed by the Sultan Julal-ood-Deen when flying from Jenghis Khan.

The approach of Tamerlane to Delhi was one horrifying series of bloodshed and devastation. He marched along the river to the conflux of the Chenab and the Ravee, where the strongly fortified town and fort of Toolumba stood. Mooltan, Bhutnire, and Lony fell into his hands. When he had reached as far as Paniput, he crossed the river with seven hundred men to reconnoitre Delhi. Seeing so few troops, the Delhians sallied out with five thousand horse and foot and twenty-seven elephants. A skirmish took place; the Delhians were repulsed. On this occasion he was informed that the number of prisoners captured, since he had crossed the Indus amounted to over a hundred thousand; that on the previous day, when they had witnessed his danger from the overwhelming number of the Indian detachment which had attacked him, they could not conceal their great joy; and that it was extremely probable that on a day of battle they would join their countrymen against him. He ordered them to be put to the sword. On the 13th of January, 1398, he achieved a complete victory under the walls of Delhi. The sack of the city followed. A large booty was seized, and a great crowd of captives. He subsequently besieged and captured Meerut, having undermined and blown up its strong walls. He then pursued his march, skirting the mountains of Sewalik, marking his way with fire and sword, until he reached the banks of the Ganges. He crossed this river, and laid waste the fertile tract extending northwards to where the stream, gushing from the mountains, winds its course through the plains. In his progress he vanquished the Rajah of Jummoogur, and compelled him to become a believer. The Sheika of Lahore was beheaded. A great number of natives on both sides of the river were exterminated, and several princes subdued; he received the submission of several others, amongst the rest, that of Shah Iskander, King of Cashmere; and returned to Samarcand by the route of Cabul on the 28th of April, 1399. The after career of Tamerlane is well known. His next war was waged against Bajazet, Emperor of the Ottomans, from 1400 to 1402, in which year was fought the memorable battle of Angora,* which was contested with great obstinacy through a long day, and by the military skill and admirable tactics of Tamerlane ended in the total defeat and captivity of the Ottoman sultan. Angora was also almost the extreme limit of the wider devastations of the conqueror. He afterwards laid siege to Smyrna. This was the extreme limit of his Western conquests. He returned to Samarcand, where, as lord paramount of Asia, he received embassies from various nations, and celebrated the nuptials of six grandsons with unrivalled magnificence and festivities. He then set out towards China, with the purpose of conquering that country, and died on his march, at Otra, on the 19th of February, 1405, in the seventy-first year of his age, and thirty-sixth of his reign.

The city of Delhi remained in a state of anarchy, for the space of two months, after the departure of Tamerlane, and famine and pestilence raged without a palliative. At length the authorities summoned courage to return; the inhabitants began to revisit their homesteads, and the capital once more assumed its former populous appearance. The narrow tract between the two rivers, and a small district round the city, were all that remained to it of its recent extensive possessions. The governors of the detached provinces during the civil convulsions had asserted their independence. Gujerat, Malwa, Kanouj (including Oude, Kurra, and Juanpore), Lahore, with Depalpore and Mooltan, Samana, Byana, Calpee, and Mahoba, were under respective governors, each of whom usurped the title of king. The sovereignty of Mahmood was merely nominal. Successively the tool of his adherents, at others a refugee at the court of men who were once his subjects, he led a miserable life of dependency, and died at length in possession of his capital, after a disastrous, inglorious, but eventful reign of twenty years, in 1412; and with him fell the kingdom of Delhi from the rule of the Turks, the adopted slaves of the Emperor Shahab-ood-Deen Ghoory, the second dynasty of the Mohammedan princes of India.

Dowlut, an Affghan by birth, who had been originally a private secretary, and promoted through various grades, was the successor to the throne, and was acknowledged by many of the nobility. However, after a reign of one year and three months, he had to surrender to a turbulent and more powerful aspirant, by whom he was confined to prison, and there died shortly after in A.D. 1416.

Khizr Khan, by whom the last-mentioned King of Delhi was overthrown, had played a prominent part during a portion of the reign of Mahmood III. His father was the adopted son of a governor of Mooltan, and his family laid claim to being descended from the Prophet. The allegations on which this ancestry is claimed are of a trivial and ludicrous character. Whatever their merit, he is styled Syud.* After the conquest of Delhi he waited on Tamerlane, and had the good fortune to ingratiate himself into his favour, and was re-appointed to his former government, together with the provinces of the Punjaub and Depalpore. This accession to his power enabled him to make his way to the throne. The moderation which he exhibited in the day of his success contributed essentially to the stability of his position. While he exercised all the attributes of sovereignty, nominating to high offices of the state, he refrained from assuming regal titles, and declared himself to be the dependant and tributary of Tamerlane. By this prudent policy he secured two very important ends: by one, he disarmed the jealousy with which such an assumption would have been received by his fellow nobles, and by the second secured the countenance and support of the conqueror, whose name and approval were sufficient to awe any malcontents. His first care was to repress the turbulent chiefs in his vicinity, who had the will but not the power to maintain their independence. He reduced Kuttehr, accepted the proffered submission of the governor of Budaon, exacted the revenue, which during the commotions had fallen into arrear, from Gunpore, Kampella, and Chundwar, recovered Jaleswur out of the hands of the Rajpoots of Chundwar, and took possession of Etawa. All this was accomplished in the first year of his government. In 1414 there was an irruption of the Turks into Sirhind, and the governor was assassinated by them. Khizr Khan sent an army to oppose them. They retreated across the Sutlej; but as the mountains were then in the possession of independent zemindars, in alliance with the Turks, there were no important results. The King of Gujerat, with some hostile designs on Delhi, advanced as far as Bagore, but on the approach of Khizr Khan diverted his course to Malwa. The latter then proceeded to Gwalior, where he levied tribute. In the year 1419 he discovered that a conspiracy had been formed against him by some powerful adherents of Mahmood III. This circumstance induced him to raise the siege of Budaon, before which he then was, and to return to Delhi, where, having assembled the conspirators, he commanded the household troops to fall upon them, and put them to the sword. About this time an impostor, who laid claim to the throne in the name of a defunct prince, had collected a body of insurgents, which was defeated. The survivors deserted their leader, each man withdrew privately to his home, and the forces of Delhi also disbanded, and returned to their respective stations. The impostor in the following year made his appearance, and united his force with an insurgent chief. The latter, discovering that he was master of a considerable and valuable collection of jewels, caused him to be assassinated. In an expedition to Gwalior and Etawa, which, during his government, though often punished, were a constant source of annoyance, falling sick, he returned to Delhi, and died on the 20th of May, 1421, after a reign of seven years and a few months.

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* This engagement is the first on record at which military uniforms and cuirasses were first worn. Tamerlane introduced them among his troops.

* Syud or Seyed were the descendants of Ali and Fatima, and considered the legitimate descendants of the Prophet.

Khizr Khan was highly esteemed by his subjects; indeed, the strongest fact adduced to support his claim to being a descendant of Mohammed was that "he possessed the qualities of charity, courage, mercy, benevolence, virtue, abstinence, truth, kindness, in a degree which rendered him like the Prophet himself."* As a token of their respect for his memory, the Delhians, by common consent, wore black for three days.

The respect in which his memory was held secured the sceptre for his son, Syud Mobarik, who was elected by the vote of the assembled nobles. The fact that his father had not assumed a kingly title, and that the nobles assembled to elect the new king, are evidences of the control which the aristocracy had possessed over despotism, and proves how precarious the tenure by which the prince held his throne.

The reign of this prince was a continued warfare, in which he himself took an active part, and generally his arms were crowned with success. From his ascent to the throne till the close of his life he had to contend against the pretensions of an energetic and powerful aspirant to his crown. In the very month on which he handled the reins of government, he received advices that Jusrut, who had the previous year defeated and made prisoner Ally Shah, the King of Cashmere,† inspired by his success, aspired to the throne of Delhi. There was scarcely a year that he did not renew his attempt; nor did repeated defeats and loss of treasures modify his ambition. Probably the plunder which his mountaineers swept from the fertile plains prompted the recurring campaigns rather than any strong hope of attaining the ostensible object.

In 1429 another adventurer appeared on the stage, whose proceedings created no small share of trouble and annoyance. A courtier, Syud Selim, died in that year, who during thirty years of power had amassed an enormous fortune; indeed, it was supposed to be equal to the private coffers of the king himself. According to the usages of India, it could be claimed by the crown. The king availed himself of no such privilege. He resigned the entire to the two surviving sons, whom he, moreover, elevated to the highest distinctions which he could confer. These indulgences did not secure the fidelity of the young men. On the contrary, they dispatched one Folad, a Turkey slave, to Sirhind, to stir up an insurrection privately in their name. The plot, shortly after the departure of their emissary, was discovered, and both the traitors committed to prison. Folad justified the confidence which his masters testified in his abilities. On his arrival in Sirhind he enter-

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* Ferishta, vol. i. p. 507.

† The kingdom of Cashmere is the only Mohammedan state of India which is not found having relations with the empire of Delhi. Its history forms a separate portion of this work.

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into negotiations with the principal officers of the royal army there stationed, and succeeded in lulling them into profound security. In the depth of night, with a band of followers, he made an attack on their camp, in the hope of being able to surprise it. He was wrong in his calculations. His approach was perceived; and he was received with such promptitude by the king's troops, that the attack altogether failed. But this discomfiture did not cool the ardour of Folad. Having retired after his repulse to a fort occupied by his adherents and accomplices, he made another attempt on the ensuing night, and being supported by a heavy fire from his works, the Delhi troops, as if panic-stricken, fled with the utmost trepidation, leaving their camp and baggage a prey to their assailants. This disaster impelled the king to take the field in person. Folad had occupied Sirhind, the capital of the province, and had an abundance both of money and supplies, and resolved to defend it against the king to the last extremity. With a courage and success worthy of a better cause, he held his post for six months, though towards the close greatly distressed. Seeing no other means of extricating himself, he sought an alliance with the ruler of Cabul, between whom and the King of Delhi no friendly relations had been cultivated. A force was sent to his assistance, and these, on crossing the Beas, were joined by the warlike Gukkurs. The confederates laid waste the country of those chiefs who held estates in the Punjaub, and who were now prosecuting the siege of Sirhind. The royal army were compelled to raise the siege. The troops of Cabul were rewarded by Folad for their services; but on recrossing the Sutlej they plundered the Punjaub, and acquired a hundredfold the value of their remuneration from him. His retreat was marked with every injury that may be inflicted on an invaded country. On reaching Lahore he imposed a contribution of one year's revenue. From Lahore he proceeded to Depalpore, laying waste that district also. It is asserted that forty thousand Hindoos were massacred; besides, thousands were carried into slavery. He directed his march to Khuteelpore; he then crossed the Ravee, and devastated to within a few miles of the walls of Mooltan. Here he defeated the army of Delhi, and hastened on to the assault of that town. In this attempt they were unsuccessful, but continued the siege, and committed daily depredations, putting all whom they met to the sword. At length the hour of retribution was at hand. The plunderers were again encountered by the reinforced Delhians: a sanguinary conflict ensued. The Moguls were progressing favourably, when the fall of a favourite chief so inspired his troops with revenge, that the enemy fought with desperation, and at length snatched the victory. The depredators were totally defeated. They lost all their plunder, and their chief escaped with a few attendants, his whole army being either killed or drowned in the Jhelum in their attempt to escape.

Folad was not disheartened nor inactive; he marched shortly after out of his fort to attack Lahore, but had to fall back on his old retreat again. Shortly after this, in 1435, Syud Mobarik founded a city on the banks of the Jumna, and called it by his own name, Mobarikabad, and then made an incursion towards Sirhind. On his road he had intelligence that that fortress was at length captured, and the head of Folad was presented to him. The other transactions of his reign was the endeavour to recover the eastern territories which had been, during these convulsions, wrested from the empire, and to repel the incursions of the mountaineers who harassed his confines and made repeated irruptions into the interior. The King of Malwa and of Juanpore felt the force of his arms; the Rothors of Rohilcund were forced, by his presence, to pay their tributes, and the Mewates were often checked in their predatory expeditions. His temper was so finely regulated that he is said to have never spoken in anger, and on most occasions he was just and benevolent; to his nobility he had never given offence, except in removing them for misbehaviour from their appointments. These qualities did not shield him from enmity and the assassin's blow, directed by his vizier, to whom he had given some cause of offence. This occurred after a reign of thirteen years and four months, in the year 1435. The vizier, who had preconcerted his arrangements, placed his confidant, Mohammed, the grandson of the late king, upon the throne.

Syud Mohammed's elevation was not hailed by unanimous approval. The deputy vizier and other nobles, then in camp, severely censured the conspirators. Their indignation, for the present, was suppressed; and to avoid the horrors of civil war, they resolved on submitting to the new king. This party was further outraged, when they saw two Hindoos, the actual murderers, promoted to the government of provinces, and otherwise liberally rewarded; while the officers of the late monarch were persecuted, and even the lives of some sacrificed on the most trivial pretexts. Several of the nobles had reason to apprehend that they would be stripped of their estates held on tenure from the crown. These, for self-protection, entered into a confederacy and took up arms. The deputy vizier had hitherto so guardedly dissembled his feelings, that he stood high in favour with the vizier, and was accordingly entrusted with the command of the army for the reduction of the malcontents. They soon united their forces, and marched on Delhi, to wreak their vengeance on the conspirators. The king, in this exigency, took measures for his safety, and decided on abandoning the vizier, and entered into negotiation with the besiegers for securing his own escape or for cutting off the minister. These preparations did not escape the jealous watchfulness of the latter, who had recourse to counter measures, and with a band of accomplices broke into the royal apartments to put the king to death. Intimation of their design having preceded them, they were received by a more powerful body; and all, including the vizier, were cut to pieces. The confederates took the oath of allegiance to the reigning prince, and were promoted to the highest posts of the state. All who were concerned in the murder of the late king suffered death. After this adjustment, Mohammed displayed some energy. He made a campaign towards Mooltan. Many of the disaffected chiefs being intimidated, came in and made submission; their example was followed by the other malcontents. He also marched towards Samana, and detached a portion of his army against Jusrut Gukkur, whose territories were surrendered to plunder. The king returned to Delhi, where he gave himself up to pleasure, and totally neglected the affairs of government. The inevitable results soon began to manifest themselves. An insurrection broke out among the Affghans; and Behlol Lodi, the nephew of one of the leading chiefs among the confederates, usurped Sirhind, and seized on Lahore, Depalpore, and the country as far south as Paniput. While Mohammed was temporising with him, the King of Malwa advanced within three miles of Delhi, at the head of a threatening force. Syud Mohammmed, in great alarm, called to his aid Behlol, who, accordingly, succoured the capital with twenty thousand horsemen arrayed in armour, and repelled the danger. Behlol conceived the greatest contempt for the vacillating voluptuary, and boldly aspired to the throne. Having been confirmed in the governments of Lahore and Depalpore, which he had forcibly seized, his means of furthering his designs were strengthened; and, accordingly, he induced a large body of Affghans to enrol themselves under his standard. Instead of proceeding, as he had been ordered, to wage war on Jusrut Gukkur, the old enemy of Delhi, he induced that chief to co-operate with him, and they seized several of the districts belonging to the crown, and eventually laid siege to Delhi, but he was compelled to relinquish that enterprise to attend to some more pressing emergency. Such was the decline of the power of Delhi, through the imbecility of the government, that the zemindars of Byana placed themselves under the government of Malwa. Syud Mohammed died a natural death, in 1445, after a reign of twelve years and some months.

His son, Alla-ood-Deen, succeeded him on the throne. All the nobles of the kingdom took the oath of allegiance with the exception of Behlol. The contempt of the latter the young king was not in a position to resent and punish. However, in 1446, he assembled an army for the recovery of Byana; but on his march he was informed that a hostile army was on its way to attack Delhi. Although advised to distrust this report, which was vague and unauthenticated, and remonstrated with by his vizier, he returned to the defence of his capital. As had been conjectured the rumour was false. This step was the ruin of his reputation; the people pronounced him a greater imbecile than his father. Another act of his was still more offensive to his subjects. He preferred Budaon to Delhi; and spent a considerable portion of his time there laying out gardens, building palaces, and giving entertainments. While thus employed, Behlol renewed his designs on the capital. The imprudent abandonment of his minister by the king induced the latter to attach himself to his ambitious rival; the result was, that the throne of Delhi was abdicated by Alla-ood-Deen, in favour of Behlol, on the condition that the ex-king was to be left in quiet possession of the town which he had selected for his residence. In this retreat—a good exchange perhaps, after all, for a tottering throne—he spent the remaining twenty-eight years of his life. He reigned for the space of seven years. He was the last of the Syuds.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE AFFGHANS AND MOGULS.

Before we proceed to sketch, briefly, the history of the princes of the Affghan line, an opportunity is supplied of giving an account of the political divisions of Hindostan at that particular period. The materials have been principally furnished by Ferishta.

The peninsula was at this time—the middle of the fifteenth century—split up into several separate principalities, possessing or claiming independence. The Deccan, Gujerat, Malwa, Juanpore, and Bengal, had each its independent king. The Punjaub, Depalpore, and Sirhind, as far south as Paniput, formed the territory of Behlol Khan Lodi. Mehrowly, and the country within a few miles of the city of Delhi, as far as the Seray Lado, was in the hands of Ahmood Khan Mewatty. Sumbhul, even to the suburbs of Delhi, was occupied by Duria Khan Lodi; Kolejalesur, in the Doab, by Eesa Khan Toork; and Raberry and its dependencies by Kootub Khan Affghan; Kampila and Pattialy by Rajah Purtab Sing; and Byana, by Dawood Khan Lodi; Candeish, Scinde, and Mooltan, had each its distinct Mohammedan king: so that the city of Delhi had but a very small tract of country attached to it; in one place it only extended twelve miles from the walls, and in another scarcely a mile, when Behlol took possession and assumed the title of king.

The new king, Behlol Lodi, was of Affghan descent. The Affghans claim to be of Jewish origin, and were from a very remote period a commercial community, and carried on the trade between India and Persia. In the reign of Feroze Toghluk, the grandfather of the king possessed wealth and power, and rose to the government of Mooltan. His uncle, in the army of Khiza Khan, commanded the Affghan contingent, distinguished himself in that war, and as a reward of his bravery and fidelity, was appointed governor of Sirhind, with the title of Islam Khan. His brothers participated in his good fortune; and one of them, the father of Behlol, had a district bestowed upon him. On the father's death, he entered the military service under his uncle, Islam Khan, and subsequently married his daughter; and though he had full grown children of his own, Islam Khan made Behlol his heir, and he was also nominated his successor in command of the troops, a body of twelve thousand Affghans. The daily augmenting influence of the Affghans in Sirhind had, ere this, excited the jealousy of the ruling power at Delhi, and Syud Mohammed had sent an army against them; while at the same time Jusrut Gukkur was also instigated to attack them. During the vicissitudes of this war, Behlol was forced to retreat to the hills with the women and children, but his cousin fell into the enemy's hands; his head was cut of and carried to Jusrut, and by him placed before the young man's father, who had been treacherously placed in the hands of his enemies. The father denied that it was the head of his son, but hearing of the gallant manner in which he provoked his fate, the brave old warrior burst into tears, and exclaimed, "Yes, it is my son; but I would not recognize his countenance till convinced he had done honour to his tribe." He observed at the same time, "My nephew Behlol could not have been in the battle or he would have been slain also. He lives, and will avenge the death of my boy." The result justified the prediction; the old man escaped, joined the nephew. Sirhind was quickly retaken, and the entire province of the Punjaub occupied; the vizier, at the head of a large army, was defeated, as has been related.

Hamid, the vizier by whose intrigue the government had been secured to him, still possessed great influence. He was, in the beginning of the reign, treated with the greatest respect; but the king either apprehensive of some such treachery as had been practised towards his predecessor, or thinking that he was overshadowed by the great power of his benefactor, by an artful stratagem seized on his person, and coerced him to retire into private life, after he had effectually crushed his influence.

By the accession of Behlol, an important addition was made to the territories and strength of Delhi. All the petty chiefs around that city, who had been tempted to throw off the yoke, were soon reduced to obedience; and Behlol's supremacy was established over all, but the principality of Juanpore, with which a vigorous war was waged during the successive reigns of three sovereigns, extending, with short intervals of hollow peace, over a lengthened period of twenty-six years. This state, too, he eventually conquered. This war he survived ten years. He died at an advanced age, in 1488, after a reign of thirty-nine years.

Though he gets credit for being virtuous, mild, and just, and for having successfully prosecuted his enterprises, the breaking up of his kingdom into six divisions amongst his relatives, if creditable to a parent's care, was not a wise act for a sovereign. He had greatly increased the kingdom, having left at his death a territory extending from the Jumna to the chain of the Himalayas, as far east as Benares, besides a district to the west of that river extending to Bundelcund.

To his son, Nizam Khan, better known as Sikunder, he bequeathed the crown, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his nobles, who maintained that the right of succession undoubtedly rested in his grandson, whose father had been assassinated by one of his servants. It does not appear that the kings of Delhi had a testamentary power; their privilege apparently extended no further than a recommendation, as we find on every vacancy created by the peaceful demise of the sovereign, that the right of election was exercised by the nobles. On this occasion the crown was claimed for three different aspirants: the father's nominee; the grandson, a minor; and the eldest surviving son. The decision was in favour of Sikunder, but his election was disputed by two of his brothers. These he defeated, reduced to submission, received into favour, and reinstated in their governments. The Rajah of Gwalior, and the governor of Byana, acknowledged fealty; and the latter was removed from that district and appointed to Jalesur, Chundwara, Marhera, and Sukeet. Agra was taken by him. An insurrection was fomented among the zemindars of Juanpore, which soon spread to an alarming extent. An army, one hundred thousand strong, took the field, and though they at first put to flight the adherents of the king, they were at length reduced to obedience. Bahar, as far as the confines of Bengal, was re-annexed to Delhi. The rajahs of Dholpore and Gwalior submitted; he obtained possession of Chundery, but was baffled through the intrigues of one of his disappointed nobles, in laying hold of Rhuntunbhore. He was renewing his preparations for another attempt on Gwalior, when he was taken ill and died of quinsy, 1517.

Sikunder exhibited during his reign several attributes of a good king. His military prowess was acknowledged, and the internal and civil affairs were not neglected. All the articles of life were abundant and consequently cheap, and peace pervaded the interior. He frequently spent the entire day at business, and was strictly just in his administration. When on his march to give battle to one of his rivals, he was met by a calendar, who saluted him with, "God send you victory." "Pray," said the king, "that the victory may be his who will best promote the good of his subjects." The profession of arms under his government assumed a new character. He made a point of ascertaining the qualities of every officer who was promoted, and particularly inquired into his origin and education. The result was that the officers were all well educated men. He established horse-posts through the country, and received accounts regularly from every military detachment. Reports of the armies, of the courts, and of the principal cities were received daily. The great flaw in his character—that which among his co-religionists was his highest virtue—was his sectarian devotion to his creed. He made a point of destroying all Hindoo temples. He had musjids and bazaars built opposite the bathing stairs in the city of Muttra, leading to the river, and ordered that no Hindoo should be suffered to perform his ablutions there. He forbade the barbers to shave the beards and heads of the inhabitants, to prevent them from the discharge of their religious duties. Before his ascent to the throne, in a disputation with a holy man, who maintained the impropriety for a king to interfere with the religion of his subjects, or to prevent them from bathing at places to which they had been accustomed to resort for ages he drew his sword, and exclaimed, "Wretch! do you maintain the propriety of the Hindoo religion?" The holy man replied, "By no means, I speak from authority; kings should not persecute their subjects on any account." A story is also told of a Brahmin who, being upbraided by some Mohammedans on account of his faith, maintained "that the religions, both of the Moslems and Hindoos, if acted upon conscientiously, were equally acceptable to God." This opinion being maintained with some ingenuity and much argument, says Ferishta, the subject came to be discussed publicly, and the Brahmin was ordered to defend his thesis against twelve of the most learned men in the empire. Whatever may have been the success of the learned doctors against their solitary adversary, the issue of the disputation does not speak well for their liberality. Their intemperate decision argues their defeat. They decided, unless he renounced his errors and embraced Islam, he ought to suffer death. The Hindoo, refusing to apostatize, was accordingly executed, and the doctors were munificently rewarded. Sikunder was a poet, and a patron of learned men. His reign lasted twenty-eight years.

Sikunder dying at Agra, his son Ibrahim ascended the throne. This prince had estranged his kindred by a maxim which, though offensive to them, is by no means unworthy of a man destined to rule a mixed people that is, provided that all were to be treated with kindness and justice—“that king's should have no relations nor clansmen, and that all should be looked upon as subjects and servants of the state.” It would appear by the sequel that such was not Ibrahim's interpretation, for instead of elevating the others to the status of the Affghans, he degraded theirs to that of the masses. The Affghans had the privilege of sitting in the royal presence, but were constrained by him to stand in front of the throne, with their hands servilely crossed behind them. The disaffection of the Lodi chiefs began early in his reign to manifest itself. They came to an agreement to leave him in possession of Delhi and a few dependant provinces, and to elevate his brother, Julal Khan, then governor of Calpee, to the throne of Juanpore. He soon secured in his interest all the nobles of the eastern provinces. His partizans, reflecting on the injury the division of the kingdom might inflict upon themselves, repented of what they had already done; but it was now too late. Ibrahim issued a proclamation, denouncing as traitors all who should adhere to the pretender, and at the same time sent presents and envoys to all the principal officers. These precautions had the effect of detaching the nobles, and of bringing them over to his side. Julal Khan prepared to maintain his claims. He sought with success a powerful alliance, assembled an army, attacked the forces of Oude, and compelled them to retreat on Lucknow. Ibrahim, on being informed of these proceedings, arrested and imprisoned his other brothers, and then led his forces towards Oude. Julal being deserted by his ally, who moreover passed over to the king, marched on Agra, and might have taken possession of that city or plundered the treasury there. He was prevented from doing either by an assurance which was given, that Ibrahim would ensure to him the independent possession of Calpee. But the king having taken Calpee, repudiated that arrangement; and Julal Khan having been forsaken by his soldiers, was obliged to fly to Gwalior to seek the protection of the rajah. The king, capriciously, after this turn of fortune, had his vizier put in chains, and at the same time he loaded his son with honours. An army having set out for the siege of Gwalior, Julal Khan sought refuge in Malwa; not being well received, he fled to Gurrakota, but being intercepted on the road, he was sent prisoner to the king. Julal was sent to the prison at Hansi, where his other brothers were confined; but private orders were given for his assassination on the journey. Gwalior, which for a hundred years previously was in the power of the Hindoos, fell into his possession. The cruelty of Ibrahim, whose hands were imbrued, not only in the blood of his brother, but in that of many of his chiefs, had provoked another rebellion. The army of the insurgents amounted to forty thousand cavalry, five hundred elephants, and a large force of infantry, with which they proceeded to oppose the royal forces under Ahmood Khan. They were defeated, leaving one of their chiefs on the field of battle, and the others, together with all their treasures and baggage, in the hands of the royalists. A series of butcheries succeeded this victory, and Ibrahim manifested the bitterest hatred and resentment against the nobles who had figured in the court of Sikunder. These proceedings provoked another rebellion, in which the governor of Bahar was assisted by several men of extensive influence. The governor having died, his son, Bahador Khan, assumed the title of king, as Mohammed Shah. Such was the odium in which the tyrant was held, that this chief was joined by a number of disaffected chiefs, and found himself at the head of an army of a hundred thousand men, with which he took possession of all the country, as far as Sumbhul, and defeated the royal troops in many successive engagements. Ghazee Khan Lodi, in obedience to a summons which he had received from the court, was hastening from Lahore with an army to its assistance; but having been informed, on his way, of the treacherous and bloodthirsty proceedings of the king, he became alarmed for his own safety, and returned to his father, Dowlat Khan Lodi, who, seeing no safety for himself or his family, threw himself on the protection of Baber, the Mogul prince then ruling in Cabul, and encouraged him to undertake the conquest of India. Before the invasion was matured, an attempt was made by Alla-ood-Deen, who had contrived to escape from his brother Ibrahim, and fled to Cabul; Dowlat Khan encouraged his pretensions, but his object was to clear the way for the future prosecution of his own ambitious designs. Alla-ood-Deen was soon joined by many chiefs of distinction, and was, in a very short time, at the head of an army of forty thousand, with which he directed his course to Delhi. He was met by the royal army, which, after a hard fought battle, defeated him and forced him to retreat to the Punjaub. After this, no events of importance transpired till the year 1526, when Baber arrived in India, and at the battle of Paniput defeated the Delhians; and Ibrahim lost both his crown and his life, and left the empires of Delhi and Agra a prey to the victorious descendant of Tamerlane. The reign of Ibrahim Lodi lasted twenty years.

Few of the many conquerors of India deserve more special notice than Baber. He not only subdued a great portion of it, but he also imposed a dynasty, and is therefore more identified with its history than was either of his ancestors, Jenghis Khan or Tamerlane. Baber was the sixth in descent from the last-named conqueror, and a worthy inheritor of no inconsiderable share of his acquisitions. His military and political operations were as solid and enduring as they were brilliant. The extensive dominions of his grandfather, Abasaid, were shared by the numerous sons of that monarch. One of them, Ahmood Mirza, obtained Samarcand and Bokhara; Balk, or Bactria, came to another; Cabul to a third, whose name was Ulugh Beg. Omar Shekh* Mirza, the fourth son, and father of Baber, at first had charge of Cabul, but was transferred during his lifetime to Ferganah, on the upper course of the Jaxartes, a small but rich and beautiful country, which Baber always mentions with affection. He was born at Indijah in February, 1483, the same year which gave birth to the father of the Reformation, Luther, and the year of his accession was that in which Charles VIII. invaded Italy. His father having been killed by an accidental fall from the roof of a pigeon-house, Baber was advanced to the throne by his nobles, and assumed the title of *Zeheer-ood-Deen* (protector of religion), in 1494. He was then only twelve years old. His father had been involved in a war with both his brother and brother-in-law; the extreme youth of the young king gave them hope of ample satisfaction, and they calculated that with little difficulty they would be able to appropriate his kingdoms. To save him from this imminent danger, his relations proposed to convey him into the mountains; but this intention was overruled, and Baber began to make preparation for the threatened siege. An incident which occurred at this time will give an insight into the character of the future man. One of the courtiers was detected in corresponding with the enemy, and, being summoned before the king, he slew him with his own hand. The confederates entirely failed in their attack on his capital; a raging pestilence having suddenly broke out among their cavalry, their horses died off in hundreds daily, and a peace was concluded. The khans of Kashgar and Khostan, after this led their armies against him, but they also, eventually, made peace. The governor of Asheera rebelled: Baber besieged the town and the rebel was compelled to come forth with a sword suspended about his neck, and a shroud hung over his shoulders. Thence he proceeded to Sharokia, where he met his maternal uncle, and a reconciliation was effected. The King of Samarcand having occupied Aratiba, one of the provinces belonging to his father in his lifetime, he resolved to retake it, and accordingly marched with an army against it. The war was protracted through three years, when the King of Samarcand, having been abandoned by his ally, the ruler of Turkistan, proceeded with a small retinue of three hundred horse to solicit the assistance of Khosrow Shah, ruler of Khondoos. Baber availed himself of his absence, and hastened to Samarcand, where he was received into the city, and ascended the throne with the approbation of the majority of the nobles, in 1497, and in the fifteenth year of his age. Some of the chiefs being disappointed in not having the town given up to plunder, went off in a body, and having placed at their head his young brother Jehanghire Mirza, they demanded for him the province of Indijan. When this demand was presented to Baber he could not restrain his indignation, and threw out imputations which affected his adherents as well as those who had deserted him. This imprudence so offended the remaining officers, that in a body they went over to his enemies. To aggravate his perils, he was seized with a dangerous illness, by which he was reduced to the last extremity. His life, indeed, was preserved with the greatest difficulty, by conveying sustenance through moistened cotton applied to his lips. On his recovery he found his affairs in the greatest confusion. The officers and soldiers, despairing of his life, began each to shift for himself; and Ali Dost Taghai having heard that he was dead, surrendered Indijan to the rebels. He then applied to his uncle, Mahmood, for aid; and though he marched to his assistance, having no military capacity, he listened to the artful proposals of the cabal, and was persuaded to retreat. This misfortune was followed by the desertion of all his forces, with the exception of three hundred, who faithfully adhered to him, and shared his exile and fallen fortunes. He took up his quarters in Khojend, a town so small as to support with difficulty two hundred men. Burning with the desire of conquest and dominion, his ambitious spirit spurned the insignificance of his position, and aspired to a wider and a nobler field of action. In the winter of 1498 he led forth his few followers and, as he himself relates, won all the strongholds of Yar Ailak by treaty, storm, or stratagem. The first gleam of good fortune was the return of Ali Dost Taghai to his allegiance. The Sultan Mahmood next sent an army to his assistance; and the chiefs of the rebellion had acted so tyrannically, that the towns began to rise up against them, and their troops to desert them; and in 1499 his paternal kingdom was entirely restored to him. An act of indiscretion made him a second time a refugee. A party of the rebels, who had capitulated on condition of taking away all their property, were with his sanction plundered by his partizans. This order was issued with too much precipitation; and as Baber himself observes, "in war and affairs of state no matter ought to be finally determined till it has been viewed in a hundred different lights." The Moguls in his service were so alarmed, that they forsook him, and marched away, in number about four thousand, and offered their services to a neighbouring sultan, who by this reinforcement was enabled to defeat the forces of their former master. After a series of operations a convention was made between Baber and his brother Jehanghire, by which the latter should have the territory on the north of the Sirr, while Indijan and Urkund were to belong to the former; and in the event of Baber obtaining possession of Samarcand, the whole should be resigned to Jehanghire. On his part he bound himself to unite his forces with his brother's for the invasion of that country.

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* *Shekh* or *sheikh*, an Arabic word, meaning an old man and prince.

By repeated invitations Baber was induced to renew his designs against Samarcand, and set out for that capital; but before he reached it, he was informed that both it and Bokhara were seized on by the Uzbecks, who were at that time laying the foundation of that dominion, which has continued to the present in Transoxiana. In his absence Tambol had a second time taken possession of Ferghana, and Baber with his followers fled to the mountains to the south of that country. While in this retreat he learned that Sheibani Khan, the chief of the Uzbecks, had left Samarcand on some expedition, leaving a garrison of five or six thousand men. He resolved to surprise it in his absence, and with that object proceeded with the small force of two hundred and forty men. They rode all night, and when all the enemy were at rest they escaladed the walls without giving the least alarm. The citizens received them with thanksgivings for their success, and united with them heartily in their attack upon the garrison, and assisted with clubs and stones in driving out the Uzbecks. Sheibani Khan, on being informed of this dashing exploit, hastened back, but found the gates closed against him, and ultimately withdrew to Bokhara. Shadmar, and Sogdiana, with its fortresses, before the end of a few months, submitted. In 1501 he marched against the Uzbecks, and suffered a signal defeat: with difficulty, attended by a few followers, he escaped to Samarcand; by plunging on horseback into the river Kohik, and swimming across. He determined to maintain his hold in this town "for life and for death." The citizens were reduced to extreme distress. Some of the meaner sort were constrained to eat dogs and asses; the leaves of trees were collected to feed the horses. Some were fed with shavings and raspings of wood steeped in water. The citizens and soldiers could endure these hardships no longer, and therefore, having made a sort of capitulation, he evacuated the town at midnight. The following two years of his life were embittered by vicissitudes and privations of the most afflicting character. He commonly went barefoot through the mountains with his companions, and their feet, he says, became so hard, that they did not mind rock or stone in the least. His servants deserted from want of food. He sometimes expresses the despondent feelings by which he was in these wanderings harassed. The following is a translation of a verse composed by him then:—

> "No one remembers him who is in adversity:
> A banished man cannot indulge his heart in happiness.
> My heart is far from joy in this exile:
> However brave, an exile has no pleasure."

At length his patience gave way, and he said to himself, "Rather than appear in this state of debasement, it were good to flee from the sight of man as far as my feet could bear me." He resolved to travel into Northern China. Occasional communications from his adherents in Ferghana served to keep alive his hopes, and at length, with the aid of his uncle, he recovered his capital, and was joined by his brother, who had hitherto been his rival. His old enemy and traitor, Tambol, called to his aid the formidable Uzbecks; Baber was again defeated. He fled with a few men, fighting at every step, and was so hotly pursued, that his guards fell one by one into the hands of the enemy, and his horse was so much exhausted, that he was overtaken by two of Tambol's soldiers. They called to him in an assumed friendly voice to stop, but he pressed forward up a glen till about "bedtime prayers." Both of them, with a solemn oath, assured him that Tambol desired to reinstate him, and they also "swore unto him by the holy book that they would follow and serve him wherever he led." If they were at any time sincere in their assurances, they ultimately abandoned their honourable intentions, and betrayed him to his enemy. With great difficulty he again obtained his liberty. He rejoined his uncles, but with little advantage to himself, for Sheibani, invited by Tambol, arrived with an army "more numerous than the rain-drops," and routed the Moguls in a bloody conflict. Both his uncles were taken captives, and he fled to Mogulistan. He wandered in distress amongst the mountains for a whole year, and surrendered all hope of regaining his inheritance, and determined on seeking his fortune in Khorassan, bade a long farewell to his native land, and ventured beyond the Hindoo Koosh. Though he had figured in so many scenes, and suffered so many trials, he was yet only in his twenty-third year. The touching details of his eventful experience at this time, as recorded in his life, written by himself, are a faithful mirror of the fitful character of a determined boy. His transient feelings, and the elasticity of his spirits, were remarkable—at one moment dissolved in tears, the next with the keenest relish enjoying the agreeabilities of his situation. His domestic affections are as strong as they are simple and natural—there is no apparent concealment of his inmost thoughts. The genial glow of puerility in the earlier period of his memoirs renders it probable that they were contemporaneously written. During all his marches, says Elphinstone with much truth, in peace or war, flowers and trees and cheerful landscapes were never thrown away upon him. It may be because others have not opened their hearts as he has done, but there certainly is no person in Asiatic history into whose tastes and feelings we can so fully penetrate as into Baber's.

In entering on a new field of adventure his followers were less than three hundred, and among them all there were but two tents. Bactria was at that time under the rule of Khosrow Shah, a favourite of Baber's late uncle, and subsequently minister to his son, the prince whom he had driven out of Samarcand, and whom Khosrow had since then murdered, and appropriated what remained of his dominions. With his lately-acquired subjects Baber was a favourite, and looked upon as the legitimate owner of the kingdom. It was not long after his arrival before all the Moguls in Khosrow's service offered Baber their allegiance; and even his brother came over to him with all his family and effects, and was followed by the whole of the army. He now found himself at the head of a respectable force, and proceeded onward to the conquest of Cabul. His uncle, Ulugh Beg, the king of that country, had died in 1501, two years previously, leaving his kingdom to his son, a mere lad, who w expelled by his minister; the latter was a sassinated, and the kingdom was then seiz upon by a prince of Candahar. Almo without a blow Cabul and Ghizni, wi all the provinces dependant upon the acknowledged the dominion of Baber i 1504. Over this country he ruled for twent two years before he undertook the conqu of India, and his descendants reigned the until the end of the seventeenth century. mere recapitulation of the leading events that interval is all that is requisite here. H subdued Candahar; put down a rebelli fomented by his brother; he waged wa with his old enemies the Uzbecks; and pr bably would have shared the destructi which had annihilated the eldest branch his house, had not Sheibani Khan been total defeated and slain in 1510 by the King Persia. Baber occupied Bactria and Bokhar and again obtained possession of Samarca in 1511, but before a twelvemonth he w driven out by the Uzbecks; and although was sustained by the Persian alliance, a maintained the war for two years longer, was stripped of all his acquisitions exc Bactria in 1514.

It was then that he turned his attention India, and entered on that enterprise whi had been suggested to him by Dowlat Kha governor of Lahore, and his sons. T application for aid made to Baber by hi was accompanied with an offer of allegian No proposal could have been more acceptab and he lost no time in making the necess preparations. He directed his march throu the country of the Gukkurs, and imposed yoke upon them. Behar Khan Lodi, other Affghan ameers, who continued faith to Ibrahim, or averse to an invader, enco tered him in the vicinity of Lahore, and w defeated. His victorious army sacked town of Lahore. Depalpore was next tak by assault, and a general massacre follow Dowlat Khan, who had been expelled fr Lahore by the King of Delhi, and had tak refuge among the Beloochees, here joi Baber with his three sons, and was favour received. At this time he was recommen by Dowlat to detach a body of troops to D Ismael Khan, with whom several Affgh nobles had collected a force, but Dilawer, son of Dowlat, informed Baber privately his father and brother only wanted to separ his army, and weaken them. They w both on this information cast into prison, shortly after released. This did not c their attachment; they fled to the east hills, and Dilawer was put in possession their estates. Alla-ood-Deen was pu possession of Depalpore, and hopes held out to him of being substituted for his brother Ibrahim in Delhi. The defection of a man of such influence as Dowlat Khan, with other unfavourable occurrences, induced Baber to retrace his steps to Cabul. No sooner had he withdrawn than Dowlat and Ghazee seized upon Sultanpore, and imprisoned Dilawer. Sultan Ibrahim forwarded an army to bring them to submission. The army was tampered with, and the general gained over Alla-ood-Deen, who, having been driven out of Depalpore, had fled to Cabul, and now returned to Lahore, bringing with him the orders of Baber to his commanders that they should assist in placing him on the throne of Delhi, and that he would support him in person as soon as the state of affairs would permit. Dowlat and his son professed their readiness to co-operate with him. The Mogul chiefs having obtained for Baber the cession of all the territories west of Lahore, permitted Alla-ood-Deen to join Dowlat Khan in order to prosecute his pretensions. These, with their joint forces, marched on Delhi. Ibrahim advanced from Agra to oppose them, but his army was taken by surprise in a night attack, and dispersed, but having rallied the next morning, snatched the victory and its fruits from the rebels. The unfortunate pretender was abandoned by his adherents, and fled in great distress to the Punjaub. Baber was then on his march back again to renew his Indian war. Ghazee Khan Lodi transferred his allegiance to his old sovereign, and united his forces with his when he heard of the advance of the Moguls, and remained faithful till that monarch's death.

In 1525 Baber commenced his fifth Indian campaign. On the route to Lahore he amused himself in rhinoceros hunting, and thus had an opportunity of testing the courage, prowess, and skill of his chiefs. In December of the same year he crossed the Indus at the head of a hundred thousand horse. Dowlat and his son, with an army—then in the interest of Ibrahim—of forty thousand, were encamped on the banks of the Ravee, near Lahore, but they did not await his arrival. The father retired into the fortress of Muluret, which, having been beleaguered, surrendered after a few days. The old traitor was pardoned, and again received into favour. On the following day he went in pursuit of Ghazee, who had retired to the mountains. He overtook and defeated him, after which he formed a junction with the army commanded by Ibrahim Lodi. Baber decided on marching on Delhi. To this step he was encouraged by messages from some traitors in Ibrahim's court; and on his way he was joined by an Affghan deserter with three thousand men. Ibrahim did not await him under shelter of the walls of Delhi; he had boldly taken the field, and when Baber was within two stages of Shahabad he learned that the vanguard, six or eight miles in advance, composed of twenty-seven thousand horse, were ready to dispute his progress. He hurried on his left wing to encounter them. They met at sunrise the following morning: the conflict was vigorously sustained. The issue was adverse to the Delhians; they were put to flight, and their commander fell in the retreat. The prisoners were barbarously put to the sword. The main army, under Baber, having reached the field of battle, encamped there for six days, during which he ordered his park of artillery to be linked together with leathern ropes, made of raw hides, according to the practice, Ferishta observes, which prevailed among the armies of Asia Minor.

Though Ibrahim's army consisted of a hundred thousand horse, and a hundred elephants, and that of Baber is represented as amounting only to twelve thousand men, he made an attempt with five thousand horse to surprise the Delhians. In this manœuvre he was disappointed. The next morning Ibrahim led his forces to the memorable plains of Paniput,* a day to be remembered in the history of the Indian peninsula. On the 20th of April, 1526, the two armies came in sight of each other. Baber divided his forces into two lines, composed of four divisions, with a reserve in the rear of each, and a small body of horse to skirmish in the front. The light troops were thrown out in advance; besides these there was a grand reserve in the rear of both lines. Baber having delivered his orders to his generals personally, and placed his army in battle array, took his post in the centre of the first line. Ibrahim placed his forces in one solid mass, and, according to the practice of the Indians, ordered his horse to charge. This attack the Mogul army awaited so steadily, that the Delhians began to slacken their pace long before they reached the enemy's lines. Those divisions which advanced to the lines of the adversary being unsustained, were repulsed, but as they fell back the reserves were ordered to wheel round their flanks, and, meeting in the centre, they fell upon their rear. By this manœuvre the Affghans were almost cut off to a man. Ibrahim was among the slain, and five thousand of his followers were heaped around him, and among these was the Rajah of Gwalior. Of the Delhians some authors report that sixteen thousand were killed, while others swell the amount to fifty thousand. In a few days both Agra and Delhi fell into his hands. The following characteristic observations on this conquest are made by Baber in his commentaries:—"From the time of the blessed Prophet down to the present day three foreign kings have subdued Hindostan—Mahmood of Ghizni, and Sultan Mahmopd Ghoori, and myself:* both were great potentates, while opposed only by rajahs of petty kingdoms; I, on the other hand, while the whole power of the Uzbecks threatened my dominions on the north-west, advanced with not more than twelve thousand, including camp followers, against the emperor of all India, whose army was composed of a hundred thousand men, and a thousand elephants. In reward for my confidence in him, the Most High did not allow me to endure so many hardships in vain, but overthrew my formidable adversary, and gave me the sceptre of Hindostan."†

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* Paniput is also the scene of a great battle between the Mahrattas and Ahmed Shah in 1761, which will be noticed hereafter.

The detestation in which the Moguls were held by the Affghans determined them to refuse submission. They appeared in arms everywhere, and put their forts in the best possible state of defence; even some of them who had joined the invader deserted, and the peasantry around Agra attacked them in several instances, cut off the foraging parties, and intercepted the supplies both for men and horses. The climate, to which the Moguls were not inured, also thinned their ranks. Thus circumstanced, Baber was pressingly urged by his chief officers to return to Cabul, but he replied "that a kingdom which cost him so much pains in taking should not be wrested from him but by death," and issued a decree proclaiming his determination to remain in India, at the same time permitting all who preferred safety to glory to retire to Cabul. This announcement proved favourable to his interest. Several of the influential men who stood aloof speculating on his withdrawal from India now gave in their adherence. The Affghan confederates had now an army of fifty thousand strong in the field, but there was treason in their camp. The vizier of the late king, Futteh Khan, deserted, and induced several of the nobles to submit. This diversion did not extinguish the hopes of the nationalists, several of whom espoused the cause of Mahmood, the son of the late Sikunder Lodi, and with an army of one hundred thousand horse resolved to re-establish the Affghan dynasty. This led to the battle of Ranwa, a village on the Bangunga River, four miles south of Fhurtpo The Affghans fought with desperate valo and the fortunes of the day seemed to incli to them, till Baber, perceiving a favoural opportunity, charged with his private guar "like a lion rushing from his lair," and aft an obstinate conflict the Indian line w broken, and they fled in disorder. To com memorate the victory a ghastly pyramid the heads of the slain was reared on an em nence near the scene of action, and Bab assumed the title of Ghazee.

The enemy thus weakened and disheartene gave their conquerors a respite. Hoomayoo the conqueror's son, was sent back to Cab with orders to add Bactria to that provin Many of the strongholds now submitted. I 1528 Baber made a tour of his new empi Towards the close of this year Prince Ma mood, the son of Sikunder, took possessi of the province of Bahar, and the Belooche in Mooltan revolted. Baber marched in pe son to Bahar, and defeated the enemy.

The Prince Hoomayoon having left h brother Hindal Mirza as his substitute in t government of Cabul, returned to visit h father. On the 24th of December, 15 Baber expired, and in compliance with h will he was interred in Cabul. He reign for thirty-eight years, and died in the fiftie year of his age.

The particulars of his career have be drawn from his memoirs, written by hims in the Turkish language, transcribed by h son, and translated in the reign of his gran son Akbar, into Persian. The language, which it was originally composed, is spoken this day from the Caspian to the Chinese fr tier. The chief portion of this was transla by Leyden, and the remainder by Erskine.

"In his person," Ferishta records, "he w handsome; his address was engaging a unaffected; his countenance pleasing, and disposition affable." On his feelings and tas some remarks have been made. He w learned, and had few equals in the arts poetry, prose composition, and music. In time of his ancestor Jenghis Khan, Sama cand and Bokhara were the first cities in civi zation. Notwithstanding his warlike pursu his time was not absorbed by the duties the camp. He was ardently devoted to t enjoyments of the cup, and to female soci When inclined to make merry, he genera gave orders to fill a reservoir in his favour garden with the richest wine. The followi verse was publicly exhibited to the revellers:

"Give me but wine and blooming maids,
All other joys I freely spurn;
Enjoy them, Baber, while you may,
For youth once passed will ne'er return."

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* Baber has not mentioned the conquest of his ancestor Tamerlane. This may arise from Tamerlane not having established an Indian kingdom or imposed a dynasty!

† *Life of Baber*, by Caldecott, p. 179.

Hoomayoon Padshah succeeded his father. He was a prince of refined taste and cultivated mind. He had scarcely mounted the throne when his brother Mirza formed the design of wresting the Punjaub from him, and asserting his independence. Hoomayoon was cognizant of his projects, yet not wishing to be involved in an unnatural war with his brother, anticipated him by sending him a commission nominating him to the government of the Punjaub, Peshawur, and Lumghan. Mahmood, son of Sikunder, was still in arms, and, in the hope of recovering the inheritance of his family, he had recently got possession of Juanpore; Hoomayoon having marched thither ejected him, and restored the former governor. A conspiracy against the king's life, by some of his own countrymen, was detected; the prime mover was pardoned, and some of the accomplices punished, these were officers of distinction in his service. Zuman Mirza, who had been pardoned, on taking the most solemn oath of fidelity, availed himself of the earliest opportunity of escape, and sought refuge at the court of Gujerat, with Bahador Shah. Here he was joined by about six thousand adherents, consisting of Moguls, Affghans, and Rajpoots. Hoomayoon demanded the surrender of Zuman Mirza, which being refused he made preparation to enforce his demand. Bahador Shah was then carrying on the siege of Chittoor, but owing to some circumstance not explained, although Hoomayoon had marched as far as Gwalior, and Prince Rana Sanka had claimed his protection, after two months, he broke up his camp, and returned peaceably to Agra. Despairing of relief, Rana Sanka, with costly presents, induced Bahador Shah to abandon the siege. The successful prosecution of his uninterrupted designs, spirited on this ambitious prince to more important measures, in fact nothing less than the expulsion of the new dynasty. He set up a new claimant for the throne of Delhi, Alla-ood-Deen, the son of Behlol Lodi, and to sustain his pretensions placed an army of forty thousand men at his disposal. This force, commanded by the pretender's son, advanced on Agra, but on the approach of an opposing army, the great bulk of his men deserted, and the remainder, with three hundred officers, were cut to pieces. Bahador shortly after took the field, and having collected a large train of artillery, on which he relied, he entrenched his army, and placed his cannon in redoubts, in the expectation that the Moguls would risk an engagement. The armies were in sight of each other for the space of two months; at length all his supplies being cut off, the men, horses, elephants, and camels perished daily, from want and disease, in great numbers; and finding himself reduced to extremities, with five attendants he left his camp in the night time, and fled towards Mandoo. The following day his army dispersed, were pursued, and put to the sword. Mandoo, in which Bahador had a force of several thousands, was scaled at night by three hundred Moguls; the garrison, panic-stricken, betook themselves to flight, and the unfortunate refugee, with five thousand horse, escaped to Champanere, then the capital of Gujerat. During the flight he would have been taken by the king in person, had not one of his faithful attendants thrown himself between Hoomayoon's guards and his master, and thus saved his life. The pursuit was hotly sustained. Three days after the capture of Mandoo the victors reached Champanere. Bahador, taking with him all his treasures, fled to Ahmoodabad. The city of Champanere was given up to plunder, but the citadel, strongly garrisoned, and well supplied with provisions, threatened a prolonged defence. Hoomayoon continued the pursuit of the King of Gujerat, who pursued his flight to Cambay, and thence to the Island of Diu. He was so closely pursued that Hoomayoon arrived at Cambay on the very evening he had left it. The principal part of the royal treasures of Gujerat being stored at Champanere, Hoomayoon returned thither to conduct the siege in person. In the capture of this strong fortress the young king exhibited a large share of shrewdness and intrepidity. While one day reconnoitering, he observed a party of country people conveying supplies by a secret pathway leading through a wood; he induced them to carry him in disguise to the spot at which they were admitted. Having carefully made his observations, the following night with three hundred chosen men he prepared to escalade it. Feigned assaults, for the purpose of diversion, being made in other quarters, he with thirty-nine of the detachment approached that part of the fortification he had already marked out, and which, as being extremely difficult of assault, and in the opinion of the garrison unapproachable by the enemy, was left unprotected, the sentinels having been withdrawn for the defence of more assailable points. The king was enabled without interruption to fix steel spikes in the scarp of the rock, and by their aid thirty-nine of his officers ascended, after whom himself, making the fortieth. Before the sun rose the entire party were within the walls. A preconcerted signal was given, and a simultaneous attack was made on all sides. At the head of his detachment the king, sword in hand, fought his way to one of the gates, threw it open, and his troops poured into the citadel. The garrison was put to the sword. The governor, for his fidelity and bravery, was spared. This daring feat is ranked, and not unmeritedly, by the Mohammedan historians as equal, in the opinion of their military men, to anything of the kind recorded in history. The treasures which fell into his hands, the accumulations of many years, were so great that it is stated Hoomayoon gave to his officers and soldiers as much gold, silver, and jewels as could be heaped upon their respective shields, proportioning the value to their rank and merit. Bahador was not crushed by his misfortunes. He had again enrolled an army of fifty thousand men, and was daily advancing in strength and influence. He, however, sustained another defeat near Mahmoodabad. The province of Gujerat being partitioned among his officers, he directed his march to Boorhanpore, and in his progress received the submissions of the princes of the Deccan. Scarcely had he satisfactorily settled that affair when he heard that a formidable insurrection had broken out in the north, at the head of which was Sheer Khan. Having received the submission of Candeish, he proceeded to Mandoo, and thence to Agra.

Through the attachment still preserved for Bahador, as well as through the ambition and treachery of some of the Mogul officers, who had a design of raising the king's brother, Mirza Askari, to the throne, Malwa and Gujerat, the conquest of which had been accomplished at so much trouble, were now (1535) lost to Hoomayoon without a battle.

The troubles in the north did not allow much time to the king to indulge in those pleasures which were now daily growing upon him. He left his capital, Agra, in 1537, and set out against Sheer Khan. This chief, destined to play a great part in the affairs of Hindostan, was the grandson of Ibrahim Khan, an Affghan, who claimed descent from the kings of Ghoor. Hasan the father held a jaghir in Bahar. He had two sons, Sheer Khan and Nizam Khan. These he neglected, and the elder at an early age left his father, and as an adventurer sought his fortune as a private soldier in the army of the governor of Juanpore. Amid the arduous duties of his profession, he did not neglect the cultivation of his mental faculties. He devoted himself to study, and became versed in the literature of the East, and could repeat from memory all the poems of that popular oriental genius Sadi. He was subsequently reconciled to his father, and was placed in the management of his jaghir until Soliman, his step-brother, grew up, by the intrigues of whose mother he found himself in so uncomfortable a situation that, accompanied by his brother Nizam, w in all probability was guided by him, he ag forsook home, and entered into the servic Sultan Sikunder, who was then king. Th he continued to the death of his father, wh the jaghir of Sahseram was conferred up him. After the disastrous battle of Panip in which Ibrahim lost both crown and li Sheer Khan stooped not to the conquer but transferred his services to Mohamm Shah Lohani, who assumed the title a dignity of King of Juanpore and Bah This prince having yielded to the intrig of Soliman the half brother, and transferr to him the paternal jaghir, Sheer Khan wit drew in disgust, and joined Junid, the gov nor whom Baber had appointed to Juanpo in 1527. Aided by the conquerors he was so enabled to raise a body of followers in t hills of Bahar, recovered his jaghir, and b came a troublesome neighbour to his l master, professing himself a subject of Bab Having paid his personal respects to th prince, he accompanied him to Chanderry, 1528, was soon after confirmed in the posse sion of his inheritance, and appointed to command in Bahar. In the year after, 15 Sheer Khan once more is found in the ra of the nationalists, but on the dispersion Mahmood Lodi's army in that year, he w one of the chiefs who submitted to Baber. did also Jelal, the son of Mohammed Sh Lohani, now dead. This young prince, b a minor, and under the guardianship of mother, was received by the conqueror i favour, and invested with considerable pow Sheer Khan had obtained great influence o the mother, and on her death, which s after supervened, Jelal was left in entire pendence on this aspiring noble. He soon master of Bahar, and of the strong tresses of Chunar and Rohtas. These s of aggrandizement were pursued in the ginning of the reign of Hoomayoon. Tho the latter looked on with apprehension, had more than once resolved on checking ambitious projects, the necessity for his p sence in other quarters, and particularly more recent campaigns in Gujerat and Mal had prevented the prosecution of any ef tive measures. Thus Sheer Khan had b enabled to secure the complete possessio Bahar, and had already made consider progress in attaching the rich kingdom Bengal. Such confidence had he thus earl the stability of his power, that when Hoo yoon was in pursuit of Bahador Shah, his with impunity withdrew with the body horse which he had led to his assistance.

The grounds of quarrel with Bengal that Jelal, wishing to assert his independ had sought and obtained the aid of the king of that country, but Sheer Khan bade defiance to both, and not only repelled their joint forces, but entered on an aggressive war, and laid siege to Ghoor, the capital of the kingdom.

This short summary will sufficiently explain the situation of affairs in the north when Hoomayoon had returned, and was about to bestow the attention which the emergency commanded. He had no contemptible adversary to encounter. Sheer Khan made his preparations with a masterly perception of the situation, of which the previous history of India furnishes no example. To enable him to complete his conquest of Bengal he threw a strong garrison into the rocky fort of Chunar, with the necessary supplies and appliances for a protracted and obstinate defence. This fort stands on the extreme verge of a detached portion of the Vindaya Mountains, which slope down to the Ganges in the British district of Mirzapore. This eminence, a sandstone rock, rises abruptly from the edge of the stream to the height of one hundred and four feet, and attains its greatest elevation about two hundred yards farther south-east, where it is one hundred and forty-six feet high. From that position the hills recede westward, covering the whole of the south-east of Bahar and Bengal, and shutting up the road along the south bank of the Ganges in two places, one near Chunar, and the other at Sicragalli, east of Bayhalpore.* As the march of the Mogul army lay along the Ganges, and their artillery was conveyed by water, it was essential to their purpose to obtain possession of this stronghold. The siege lasted six months. After the fall of the fortress the victors pushed on, still keeping to the Ganges, and, before Patna was reached, they were met by the unfortunate King of Bengal, who had been expelled his territory, and was still afflicted with a wound received in the last engagement. As they approached the defile of Sicragalli, a detachment was sent to occupy it, but this had been prudently occupied, and, in an attempt to force it, the Moguls were repulsed with considerable loss. The main army was now at hand, and to their surprise they found the position abandoned, and the road to the capital of Bengal thrown open to them. It was no part of the plan of operations, upon which Sheer Khan had resolved, to oppose, in the open field, the superior force of the enemy in this early stage of the campaign. His intention was to betake himself to the hills on the south-west, and he had already removed his household and valuable effects to Rohtas. During the delay at Chunar Ghoor had fallen, and the battle which had sent its king a fugitive had been fought in Bengal. The detachment which had retired from the defile had been sent there, with instructions to avoid any serious affair, in order to retard the advance, and to complete the arrangements for withdrawal to the highlands. Ghoor yielded without a show of resistance. Though all shadow of opposition had disappeared, an enemy was at their doors more formidable than that which had so rapidly vanished. The Moguls had entered Bengal on the eve of the rainy season, which now had attained its height; the Delta of the Ganges was one waste of water, the slender streams were swollen into far-spreading pools, the plains were in every direction inundated. A stop was necessarily put to all military operations, and the communication with Upper India was seriously obstructed. This state of inactivity continued for several months. Disease, generated by the moist and sultry weather, spread amongst the troops, and several were daily falling victims. As soon as the waters had subsided, and the communications were again established, the soldiers deserted in crowds; and Prince Hindul, the king's brother, who had been left in North Bahar, abandoned his post. Before the rains had ceased, Sheer Khan was again in the field. He overran Bahar and Benares, had extended his lines of communication along the Ganges as far as Kanouj, and had thus skilfully shut Hoomayoon out from the facilities of intercourse with his capital. The result of these masterly movements was that he was obliged to leave his newly-acquired possessions in charge of an inadequate force, while he himself, with the remainder of the army, had to cut his way back to Agra. It was with great reluctance, and after considerable hesitation, that he finally decided on this course. Half the dry season had passed away before he commenced his retreat. He had dispatched a large body of his army as a corps of observation, under the command of one of his experienced veterans, and a favourite general of his father. When they had proceeded as far as Monghir they were surprised and defeated by a division of Sheer Khan's army, who had emerged from their state of inactivity, and again renewed operations in the field. When the Moguls had reached Baxar, between Patna and Benares, they were surprised to find that Sheer Khan, who had now assumed the title of king, had, by forced marches, outstripped them, and was prepared to intercept their further progress. Hoomayoon was advised to engage these troops, fatigued by a day's march of thirty-five miles. This suggestion was not acted upon, and on the following day Sheer Khan had so strongly entrenched himself, that he could neither be passed nor attacked with any prospect of success. Hoomayoon was now obliged to throw up entrenchments, and collected a number of boats to form a bridge across the Ganges, that he might transport his troops across, and thus pursue his journey along that river. This he was the more anxious to effect as the troubled state of affairs in Agra demanded his presence. These preparations he was permitted to pursue without molestation during nearly two months. When the bridge had been nearly finished Sheer Khan one day left his camp, but with a force sufficient to conceal his movement from the enemy, and by a circuitous route came in the rear of Hoomayoon's position, and at the break of day, on the following morning, attacked him with his army divided into three columns. The Moguls were taken entirely by surprise. The king effected his escape at the imminent risk of his life. The bridge not being completed, he plunged into the Ganges. His horse, exhausted, was swept away by the stream, and his master would have shared the same wretched fate, had he not been saved by a water-carrier, who was crossing with the aid of a skin, inflated like a bladder, which sustained the king's weight as well as his own. Eight thousand Moguls were drowned, a party of the enemy having previously seized on all the craft on the river. This disaster occurred in 1539. With a small retinue Hoomayoon hastened to Calpee, and thence to Agra. His queen, whom he made an unsuccessful attempt to save, was taken by the enemy. It is a trait worthy of record, and creditable to the victor, that he treated her with scrupulous delicacy and attention, and sent her to a place of safety. A singular instance of the king's gratitude to the water-carrier is related by Ferishta: on his arrival at his capital he allowed him to sit on his throne for a half day, and permitted him to reward his relatives during that time with princely presents.

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* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 132.

During this last campaign his two brothers, instead of uniting to oppose the common foe, had, insidiously, attempted to wrest from him his kingdom, and endeavoured to gain possession of the cities of Agra and Delhi. Hoomayoon used every argument with them in vain to affect a coalition of interest. After the recent defeat the two royal brothers, finding that the Affghans were likely to prevail, became ashamed of their conduct, and resolved to support Hoomayoon. The three met at Agra; Kamran severed himself from their councils and returned to Lahore.

While Hoomayoon was endeavouring to repair his losses, Sheer Khan, after som respite, advanced to the Ganges, and occupi the neighbouring provinces. In the begi ning of 1540 Hoomayoon again took the fiel his army being strengthened by an additi of three thousand men left by Kamran. Th engagement which ensued was fatal to th Moguls. The army was entirely defeate and driven into the Ganges. Hoomayoon horse was wounded, and he saved his life b means of an elephant, which he guided acro the stream. The opposite bank was pre cipitous, and the prince must have perishe were it not that two soldiers, who happene to have gained that part of the shore, had tie their turbans together, and threw one end him, and thus enabled him to make good h landing. On his way he was joined b his two brothers and some troops; havi narrowly escaped being pillaged on th road, he reached Agra. The power o Sheer Khan was now in the ascendant, a neither Delhi nor Agra appeared to be safe domicile for the house of Baber; co sequently the royal family, and the mo valuable portion of their portable propert were transmitted to Lahore, and they the selves shortly after followed. There was welcome here for the royal exile. Kamr was too apprehensive of his own safety, a afraid of being supplanted by his elder broth To purchase exemption from Sheer Khan ceded to him the Punjaub, and retired Cabul, leaving Hoomayoon to provide his security in the best way he could. this extremity he directed his course towa Scinde, which bordered the dominions of brother Kamran, having been at one time cluded in the kingdom of Delhi. Hoomay calculated that there existed among man its chiefs an attachment to the symbol of pow and that they could be induced to recog his authority. He passed into this provi through Uch. Here in fruitless efforts, am which were the sieges of Bakkar on the Ind and Sehwan, a year and a half were wast away; his resources were expended, followers were thinned by deaths and des tions, and the chief of this territory was vancing to attack him; in fact, he surroun him while conducting the siege of Sehw and thus cut off all supplies both from hi and the garrison. Deserted by his relati and friends he was obliged to retreat, a could not find, for several days, a few boat convey his faithful followers across the Ind Flying from the enemy he passed thro Jesselmere to Nagoor and Ajmeer, then ru by Maldeo, Rajah of Marwar, one of th most powerful princes of India. Though had directed his course here by the invitat of that prince, the latter, perceiving by the shattered fortunes of the king that he had nothing to apprehend from his anger, and that his enemy, Sheer Khan, was in the ascendant, faithlessly resolved on seizing on him and delivering him up. Hoomayoon, warned of his danger, fled by night on horseback to Amurkote, closely pursued. His route lay through a sandy desert, where his followers endured the severest privations, and were entirely destitute of water. Some ran mad, others dropped suddenly dead, and nothing was witnessed but screams and lamentations, and to add to their misery the enemy were close in pursuit. The king had but a few attendants; no chance of escape presented itself. A well-directed arrow entered the breast of the commander of the party in pursuit—he fell; terror seized his followers; they unaccountably fled from the handful of royalists, and Hoomayoon was again providentially preserved from imminent destruction. The Moguls seized on many of the abandoned camels, and obtained possession of provisions and other necessaries, of which they stood in such pressing need. By the Rajah of Amurkote he was in a most friendly manner received, and hospitably entertained. During his sojourn here was born his son and successor, Akbar, 1542, a prince by whose genius and fortune the Indian empire was exalted. Having been reinforced by his friend and host, Hoomayoon proceeded towards Candahar, but here he was opposed by his brother, who was in possession, and being attacked by him was compelled to fly to Khorassan, accompanied by only twenty horsemen and his queen. Such was the precipitancy of their flight that the infant prince was left behind in the camp, and carried off by his disappointed uncle, who pretended that he had come with kindly intentions, and indeed treated his nephew with great respect and affection, and removed him and his attendants to Candahar, December 14, 1543. Despairing of any succour from his brother, the king hastened to Siestan, and placed himself under the protection of the King of Persia. In this step he was not disappointed, he was received in a manner befitting a king, and munificently supplied with money, necessaries, and attendants. Thence he proceeded to Herat, where he was honourably received by the son and heir to the sovereign, who abundantly supplied him with every requisite for his journey to the Persian court. In his progress he was waited on by all the governors of the province, who paid him their respects, and magnificently entertained him.

Having accompanied the royal refugee so far from his dominions, and leaving him the recipient of the favours of the Persian monarch, his evacuated kingdom now challenges attention.

The successes which had hitherto crowned the prudent and brave prince, Sheer Khan, by whom Hoomayoon was expelled, have been briefly noticed. The retreat of the king placed him in possession of the provinces, which were stript of their defences. He took possession of the entire of the Punjaub. He erected a strong fortress on the Jhelum for its protection, destined to become famous, and which he called Rohtas, after a fortress in Bahar, and then returned to the late seat of empire, Agra. The chief whom he left in command in Bengal had revolted. This movement he quickly and effectually suppressed, and made such wise arrangements as to guard against the recurrence of disturbance. In the course of the next year he recovered Malwa, and in the succeeding he reduced the fort of Raizin. Though the garrison had capitulated, on the pretence of the authority of the construction of the treaty by some Mohammedan lawyers, the Hindoo garrison were cut to pieces after a brave resistance. "In comparison with their valour," says the Mohammedan writer Ferishta, "the deeds of Rostom and Isfundyai might be deemed child's play. Not an individual of the Rajpoots survived the horrid catastrophe." "No motive," says Elphinstone, "can be discovered for this act of treachery and cruelty. There was no example to make, no injury to avenge, and the days of religious fury were long since gone by; yet there is no action so atrocious in the history of any Mohammedan prince in India, except Tamerlane." His next campaign was into Marwar; when he was crossing the sands, he formed redoubts all round him with gabions, and in this manner he passed through the country of the Rajah of Nagoor and Ajmeer. Maldeo, the most powerful of the independent rajahs, met him at the head of fifty thousand Rajpoots. Both armies lay thirty days in sight of each other. Sheer Khan was looking for some plausible pretext for withdrawing, when he availed himself of a stratagem not remarkable for its originality, but which has often been successfully employed. Most of the Rajpoot nobles had been reduced to submission by Maldeo. Sheer Khan caused letters to be written in the name of these stating, "That having been subjected by the rajah they had, through necessity, accompanied him, but that they were in secret inimical to him; that if Sheer Khan would reinstate them in their former possessions, they were willing to pay him tribute and acknowledge his supremacy." On these letters he indorsed in Persian, "Fear nothing, but persevere, and you may be assured your wishes will be complied with." Some of these letters were artfully conveyed to Maldeo, who fell into the trap insidiously laid for him; and instead of attacking his enemy, he actually ordered a retreat. One of the high-minded Rajpoots felt so sorely the imputation, that he remonstrated with the infatuated prince. He told him, "That such treachery was unprecedented among true Rajpoots, and he was determined to wash off the stain on their reputation with his blood, or to subdue Sheer Khan with his own tribe alone." He accordingly, with only twelve thousand men, fell on Sheer Khan's force of eighty thousand, with such impetuosity and bravery, that he repulsed the enemy repeatedly, and threw the army into such confusion, that were it not for the timely arrival of fresh reinforcements, during the heat of the fight, they would have won the victory. Sheer Khan, when he had at last succeeded in defeating them, declared that he had nearly lost the empire of India for a handful of *jooar* (millet), alluding to the poverty of the country, and the insignificance of its products. Chittoor surrendered on terms. Rhuntunthore, he gave as a jaghir to his son. He then marched against Kalunjur, one of the strongest forts in Hindostan. In consequence of the perfidious violation of the treaty of Raizin, the rajah determined on its defence. Sheer Khan here providentially suffered for that crime, and indirectly in consequence of it. The fort had been surrounded, and batteries constructed for his artillery close to the walls; a breach was made, and a general assault ordered, when a shell which was thrown against the fort burst in the battery, in which the king stood, and communicating to a powder magazine that had been carelessly left exposed, the king and many of his chiefs were blown up by the explosion, and he so seriously injured that he was conveyed to his tent apparently lifeless. Though in great agony, he encouraged the prosecution of the siege, and continued to give his orders till the enemy surrendered, and when the intelligence was brought him, that the fort was reduced, he cried out, "Thanks to the Almighty God!" and expired, after a reign of five years and a military career of twenty, in the year 1545. His remains were deposited at Sahseram, where his magnificent mausoleum still stands in the centre of an artificial piece of water, a mile in circumference, which is faced by walls of cut stone, with flights of steps descending to the water.

This prince has been considered as a usurper. This decision may be ascribed to the restoration to the throne of the descendants of Tamerlane. His title was better than any that that house had yet established. It had only been fourteen years in existence when overthrown by him. From an early period his personal observation convinced him that the only superiority which could be claimed by the Moguls over his kindred the Affghans, was the personal merits of their chief, Baber, and he patriotically resolved to rid his native country of the odious race. His talents, his good sense, and the benevolence and wisdom which characterized his measures for the improvement of his subjects, showed him worthy of the position to which he aspired. Notwithstanding his brief reign and constant military operations, he brought his territories into the highest state of improvement. In the *Muntakhib-ul-Tawarikh*, written fifty years after his death, it is recorded that he constructed a high road, extending for four months' journey, from Bengal to the Western Rohtas, near the Indus, with caravanserais at every stage, and wells at every mile and a half. There was an iman and a muezzin at every mosque, and provisions for the poor at every caravanserai, with attendants of proper castes for Hindoos as well as Mussulmans. The roads were planted with rows of trees for shade, and in many places were in the state described fifty years after. Horse posts were established at convenient distances, both for the convenience of government, and the interests of trade and private correspondence. A similar establishment was maintained from Agra to Mandoo, a distance of four hundred and fifty miles. Such was the public security during his reign, say his historians, that travellers and merchants, depositing their property on the road side, lay down to sleep without apprehension of robbery. It is said that on being told that his beard grew white, he replied, it was true that he had obtained the throne in the evening of life, a circumstance he always regretted, as it left him so short a time to be of use to his country, and to promote the welfare of his people.

Selim Shah Soor, the second son of the late king, availing himself of the absence of his brother, who had been recognised by their father as his heir, ascended the throne. His brother being a prince of limited capacity, and himself a man of known abilities, he had the support of the nobles and army. Four of the principal men in the state having given an assurance to the eldest that his safety should be guaranteed, and the richest province in the kingdom conferred upon him, he was induced to make a formal surrender of his birthright. The result of this negotiation was, that the younger brother was proclaimed by the title of Selim Shah, and a tract country near Biana was assigned to his brother Adili. The reigning prince, it appears, considered his position insecure while his brother lived, and gave private orders for his arrest and deportation to the seat of government. By this harsh proceeding, the four chiefs who had interested themselves in the arrangement above recorded, felt that their honour was compromised. They took measures accordingly, and a formidable insurrection was fomented. This was suppressed by the king's promptitude and firmness. Adili fled to Bahar, and was never after heard of. A second revolt was also extinguished. The rest of the reign was not distinguished by any important incidents. However, on one occasion, the king had reason to apprehend a serious attack. Kamran flying from his brother Hoomayoon, who was on his march towards India from Persia, sought protection with Selim, and shortly after intelligence arrived that the ex-monarch had crossed the Indus. Selim took instant measures for his safety, and though under the operation of leeches, he instantly started from his seat, and gave orders for the immediate marching of his army; and on that very evening encamped six miles distant from Delhi. However, this proved to be a false alarm. Hoomayoon retreated, and Selim, returning to Delhi, eventually retired to Gwalior, and resided there. Two unsuccessful attempts were made on his life. Many of his chiefs were said to be privy to them, and were put to death without much inquiry. After this he became extremely suspicious and cruel, and continued so till his death. This event occurred in the year 1553, and in the ninth of his reign.

Like his father, he was magnificent in his court equipage, and studied the convenience of travellers, who were entertained at the public expense. A portion of the palace at Delhi was built by him; and although, by orders of Hoomayoon, it was called Nurghur, it still commonly retains the name Selimghar.

Prince Feroze succeeded his father Selim, in the twelfth year of his age. He had reigned only three days when he was assassinated by Mobbariz Khan, the brother-in-law of the late Selim, and the nephew of Sheer Khan, who usurped the throne, and assumed the title of Mohammed Shah Adili. This prince was a vicious debauchee, supposed to be too much devoted to dissipation and pleasure to encumber himself with the cares which royalty imposes. One of the first acts of his detested reign was to raise a Hindoo retail shopkeeper to the post of minister. He is described as illiterate, and a man of low tastes, but proved a man of great energy and capacity. The king knew neither how to write or read. His time was spent among the inmates of the harem. His extravagance assumed the most capricious shapes. One of his amusements was as he rode out to discharge among the multitude golden-headed arrows, worth ten or twelve rupees each. He was nicknamed *Andly*, which in the English language signifies, one who is blind, or who, acting as such, shows himself a fool. His rashness and extravagance rendered the king more ridiculous daily. Once, during a public audience, he began to partition the estates and governments among his partizans. Among these he transferred the province of Kanouj from its old governor. The son of the latter, a young man of proud temperament and little discretion, being present, cried out to the king, "Is my estate, then, to be conferred on a dog-dealer!" Surmust Khan, to whom it had been given, was a man of uncommon strength and stature; he seized the young noble, Sikunder Khan, by the throat: he soon relaxed his hold; the dagger of the latter was imbedded in his heart, and his lifeless trunk was stretched at his feet: he then slew several who endeavoured to restrain his fury, and eventually made his way to the throne and attacked the king himself, who, leaping from his seat, ran into the seraglio, and escaped by shutting the door in the face of his pursuer. The king's cousin and brother-in-law, Ibrahim Khan Soor, coming to the rescue, cut the rash infuriate to pieces. Taj Khan placed himself at the head of the disaffected, took possession of the public money and the effects of the crown, and soon assembled a formidable army, which made the king take the field. Both armies met on the banks of the Indus above Chunar, and the insurgents suffered defeat. The success of this battle was in a great measure due to his relative Ibrahim, whose intrepidity had saved him from the fury of Sikunder Khan. These services, which had added greatly to the estimation in which he was held, served to inflame the jealousy of the king, and he accordingly gave private orders to seize him. His wife, the king's sister, informed him of his danger, and he fled towards his father, governor of Hindown. He was pursued, but defeated the king's troops. After this, Ibrahim assembled a considerable force and entered Delhi. Hence he marched to Agra; and reduced the circumjacent provinces. He had assumed the ensigns of royalty. Mohammed fled to Chunar, and contented himself with the government of the eastern provinces, while Ibrahim retained possession of the western territory.

Another aspirant now raised the standard of revolt, Prince Ahmood Khan, a nephew also of the late Sheer Khan, whose sister was married to Mohammed. He assumed the title of Sikunder Shah, and marched, with twelve thousand horse, towards Agra. He defeated Ibrahim, though in command of seventy thousand horse. He was not permitted to gather the fruits of his victory. The Punjaub, his territory, demanded his presence. Hoomayoon, returning from his long exile, had reached so far on his way back to recover the empire which he had previously lost. The late disaster had so weakened Ibrahim, that Mohammed began to acquire confidence, and prepared for the recovery of his western dominions. The vizier, Hemoo, with a well-appointed army, attacked Ibrahim at Calpee, and having there defeated him, pursued him to Byana, and besieged him in that city for three months. The remainder of Ibrahim's career, though chequered with some incidents of importance, is not sufficiently interesting to be interwoven in the web of our narrative. He was made prisoner in Orissa, in the subsequent reign of Akbar, and suffered an ignominious death.

On his arrival in the Punjaub, to which the presence there of Hoomayoon had summoned him, Sikunder found that Tartar Khan, whom he left in command, had fled from the new fort of Rohtas to Delhi; and the Moguls had, without opposition, recovered all the country as far as Lahore. Sikunder dispatched forty thousand horse to oppose their further progress. This army suffered a signal defeat; the baggage and elephants became the prey of his adversaries, and the fugitives never drew rein till they reached Delhi. This defeat did not deprive Sikunder Shah of all hope of retrieving his fortunes. At the head of eight thousand horse, he marched to the Punjaub, anticipating a greater accession of strength amid his subjects. Here he was frustrated; Beiram Khan, the tutor of the prince Akbar, encountered him near Sirhind. He was defeated, and fled to the Sewalik mountains; expelled from this retreat, he sought refuge in Bengal, and assumed the reins of government, and shortly after died.

On the defeat of Sikunder, the troops of Hoomayoon, elated with their victory, pushed on, and were soon in possession of both Delhi and Agra. Immediately after these events, the Vizier Hemoo—who, though raised from an humble station, manifested great abilities—having defeated Ibrahim Khan near Agra, and afterwards pursued Mohammed Shah Soor, the ruler of Bengal, whose army was routed and himself slain, joined his master Ibrahim Khan Adili, at Chunar, and then began to make preparations for carrying on the war against Hoomayoon. But the close of this prince's eventful life was at hand. While enjoying the fresh air on the terrace of the library at Delhi, the hour of prayer was announced; the king, as is usual with all faithful Moslems, stood still and repeated the creed of Islam, and then sat down on the step till the crier had concluded. Then endeavouring to rise with the aid of his staff, it slipped on the polished marble, and he fell on his head. He was taken up insensible, and died the same evening, 1556. He was in the fifty-first year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. The fate of Hoomayoon inspired Hemoo with new hopes and vigour; leaving his effeminate sovereign at Chunar, he set out with thirty thousand men to recover the lost capital. Marching through a country favourable to his pretensions, crowds flocked to his standard. Agra was taken after a siege. The Mogul army, which had accompanied the late king, were located at Delhi, under the command of Tardi Beg. The Affghans proceeded thither, and the Moguls, having suffered another defeat, precipitately evacuated the city. Hemoo was determined to give them no respite. He prepared to pursue them to Lahore, and terminate the war by a decisive blow. The Moguls, having crossed the Sutlej, were concentrating their forces in the last-mentioned province.

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CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE REIGN OF AKBAR.

Akbar was only thirteen years and four months old on the death of his father, and was at that event in the province of the Punjaub. His tutor, Beiram Khan, who had given many proofs of his ability and fidelity, became his minister, and had the whole power, civil and military, lodged in his hands. The annoyance which was given by Sikunder, and the revolt of some of the feudatories, did not permit the king and his guardian to hasten to the assistance of the troops in Delhi and Agra. The news of the victories recently achieved, which had wrested from Akbar all his dominions except the Punjaub, created great alarm at head-quarters, and a proposal of retiring to Cabul was seriously entertained. Beiram Khan resolutely opposed this measure, and, unsupported, he strenuously advocated the propriety of giving the enemy battle, though their forces amounted to a hundred thousand horse, and the royal army could scarcely muster twenty. The ardour of the young king seconded the counsel of the minister. On the 5th of November, 1556, both armies met at Paniput. Though Hemoo fought with the greatest bravery, and gave an inspiriting example to his troops,—rushing, when the fortune of the day seemed to incline to the enemy, into the centre of their ranks,—the royalists triumphed, and he was taken prisoner, having been previously pierced through the eye with an arrow. When Hemoo was brought into the royal presence, Beiram Khan encouraged the young prince to kill the infidel with his own hand, and thus win the distinguished title of *Ghazi*, or "Slayer of infidels and champion of the faith." Akbar did not embrue his hands in the cold-blooded murder of a wounded captive: not so his cruel minister; with a cut of his scimitar, he severed the head from the trunk. Akbar soon after took possession of Delhi and Agra; and from this period may be properly dated the restoration of the house of Tamerlane.

The restoration was chiefly due to the consummate ability of the minister, who had now risen to the highest condition open to a subject. There were two vices to which Beiram was, in a special degree, addicted—cruelty and jealousy; the indulgence in which first estranged from him the affection of his royal pupil and ward. The summary punishment inflicted on Hemoo was not a solitary instance of his disregard for human life. It is related that one day while the king was at Agra, one of his elephants, infuriated, killed another belonging to Beiram, who ordered the keeper, who had lost all control over the animal, to be put to death; and a few days after, while he was sailing on the river, an elephant, which had been led down to the water, ran furiously against the boat and nearly sank it: the suspicious minister looked upon these accidents as deliberate attempts on his life, and in this instance he required the king to punish the driver. To satisfy him that his surmises were groundless, Akbar ordered the man to be sent to him, that he might punish him: he commanded him to be put to death. Several other instances are supplied of his capricious and cruel temper. The consequence was, that Akbar asserted his own independence, and stripped his regent of the power he had so frequently abused. More than one traitorous attempt was made by Beiram to make himself master of the Punjaub, but at length he was reduced to such a miserable state of indigence, that he was obliged to throw himself upon the clemency of his injured prince. The magnanimity with which the king acted on this occasion is worthy of the character he bears. On the approach of the fallen minister, a body of nobles was deputed to receive him, and conduct him to the presence with all the marks of respect once due to his exalted station. On entering the court, he hung his turban round his neck, and advancing rapidly, threw himself, in tears, at the foot of the throne. Akbar, stretching forth his hand, caused him to rise, and placed him in his former rank at the head of the nobles. He then addressed him thus:—"If you prize a military life, the government of Calpee and Chundery offer a field for your ambition. If you prefer to abide at court, our favour shall not be wanting to the benefactor of our family; but should you be disposed to seek devotion in retirement and wish to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca, you shall be escorted in a manner worthy of your rank." The latter was his choice; a proper retinue was assigned him, and an annual pension of fifty thousand rupees (£5000). He then took his leave of the king. He never reached the grave of the Prophet; having arrived at Gujerat, on his way, he was there stabbed to the heart by a man whose father he had slain in battle with his own hand.

In 1561, Akbar commenced those conquests which terminated in the combination of the various kingdoms and independent states into which India had been divided. Bas Bahador, the ruler of the principality of Malwa, was conquered, and his territories appropriated. On this occasion Akbar gave an indication of his sagacity, firmness of purpose, and promptitude of action. Adam Khan, who commanded the invading force, distributed the spoil among his followers, and reserved to himself the treasure, the royal ensigns, and the ladies of the harem, and sent only a few elephants to the king. This strange proceeding led him to conclude that Adam intended to make himself independent. He accordingly, without giving any intimation of his suspicions or designs, marched to Malwa, surprised that chief, and returned with all the treasures that had been collected. Shortly after this he displayed a feat of great personal strength and intrepidity. While hunting in the neighbourhood of Nurwur, a royal tigress crossed his path; without a moment's hesitation, with a single stroke of his sabre, he stretched her dead on the plain.

Sheer Khan, the son of the late Mohammed Shah Adili, who, after the defeat and death of Hemoo, had sunk into comparative obscurity, with forty thousand Affghans advanced from Bengal to reduce the province of Juanpore. Khan Zuman was dispatched to oppose him. He gained the victory, but having neglected to forward the usual quota of the booty to the king, was brought to a sense of his duty by the sudden approach of Akbar at the head of an army. Some time after this, Bas Bahador induced the rulers of Candeish and Berar to assist him; and, thus reinforced, he recovered all his dominions in Malwa. His success was of short duration; he was again put to flight, and fled to the mountains of Kombulmere. Mohammed Khan Atka, who had been appointed minister at Delhi, acquired great influence at Court, but was assassinated by Adam Khan. The latter, by the king's orders, was thrown over a parapet twenty-two feet high. In 1563 Akbar had a narrow escape from assassination; an arrow was discharged at him on his road to Delhi, and lodged in his shoulder. The assassin was cut to pieces before the arrow was withdrawn. In ten days the wound was healed. In consequence of some calumnies which were insidiously circulated among his relations, many of them went into open revolt. They mustered a force of thirty thousand horse, and laid waste and plundered the territories of Bahar and Juanpore, and obtained possession of a portion of the royal treasure. An army which was sent to oppose them was defeated. The king having dispatched a second, followed in person. The confederates, under Sikunder Khan and Bahador Khan, having, in the meantime, crossed the Jumna, raised disturbances in the Doab; while Khan Zuman defeated a body of the king's troops on the banks of the Ganges. The royal army, having come up with Sikunder Khan and his colleagues, forced them to an engagement, though they were then endeavouring to compromise matters with the king, and had sent envoys for that end. The royalists sustained a total defeat, and fled in the greatest disorder, without halting, till they reached the king at Kanouj. The victors then attacked Juanpore, and carried it by assault. Akbar now marched to the scene of action, and having been joined by the forces of the surrounding provinces, whom he had summoned to his aid, the rebels fled, and soon after submitted. Their estates and honours were restored.

About this time an envoy from Cabul apprised Akbar that Solyman Mirza, chief of Budukshan, had appointed a deputy in Cabul, and was acting as an independent ruler. The king, more apprehensive of his northern than of his eastern enemies, ordered t officers of the Punjaub to place themsel under the command of the governor of Mo tan. The enemy had anticipated the king commands; Cabul was invested, and t royalists were compelled to fly, but on the journey were met by an army marching their assistance under the orders of Fureed Khan. This traitor recommended Mohamm Hakeem Mirza, the king's brother, to sei upon Lahore, assuring him that Akbar w in no condition to oppose him, being involv in the war with his relatives, who had seiz all the eastern provinces; that once in p session of Lahore, he could with very lit trouble drive out the late intruders fro Cabul. This plot having been revealed to t king's adherents, they occupied Lahore, a resisted every attempt to seduce them fro their allegiance. The king hastened to t Punjaub to crush this serious movement; surprised his brother in Lahore, who fl with the utmost precipitation. The citize received Akbar with joyous acclamatio The Uzbeck chiefs, availing themselves the king's absence, seized on Kanouj a Oude, and spread their conquests in eve direction. The king quickly returned a marched against them. Though it was the midst of the rainy season, he did not r linquish his purpose. He drove the reb across the Ganges, and, mounted on elephant, he waded the stream. After lyi in concealment during the night, with advanced guard of about two thousa men on horses and elephants, he attack the enemy about sunset. Their leader w slain; one of the principal officers capture the men were thrown into the greatest co fusion, and fled in all directions; and th after a protracted war of seven years, was t rebellion of the Uzbecks effectually su pressed, in 1567. Before these transactio were completed, a movement, which ul mately led to very important consequence was initiated. Sultan Mirza, who derived descent in the paternal line from Tamerla and had accompanied Baber in his Indian e pedition, was the prime mover. During t reign of Hoomayoon he evinced the blacke ingratitude to that prince, and had been gen rously forgiven. On the accession of Akbar the throne, Sultan Mirza returned to India, a had the district of Sambal conferred on him. had four sons and three nephews, all of wh were enrolled among the nobles of Akba court, though still in their minority. four sons had attended the king in his ca paign against the Uzbecks at Juanpore, a on their return had retired to their estate Sambal. During the king's incursion i the Punjaub, availing themselves of his absence, they ungratefully took up arms, and collected to their aid a number of malcontents, and with them commenced to levy contributions on the king's subjects. The feudatories in their neighbourhood rose up in arms against them, captured Sultan Mirza, and expelled the others with very little effort. They sought an asylum in Malwa. Throughout the kingdom of Gujerat they subsequently scattered the seeds of future troubles, which were not eradicated till the subjugation of that kingdom.

The most important undertaking was the siege of Chittoor, for the defence of which eight thousand Rajpoots had been left, with an ample supply of provisions, by the Rana, who had retired with his family to a position more difficult of approach. A full description of this siege is given by Ferishta; and from it, it is evident that the arts of mining and the construction of military field-works were familiar, from a remote period, to the nations of Hindostan. The skill displayed at the siege of Ahmednuggur, in 1595, against the Moguls, and in that of Kerowly, in 1807, and Bhurtpore, in 1826, against the British troops, from whom the Indians could not have learned the science of mining, are additional and convincing proofs of their knowledge. Colonel Briggs, adverting to these facts, says it is curious to perceive how completely the Indian mode of attack corresponds with the practice of Vauban, and the best engineers of modern times. On the present occasion two *sabats*, or galleries, had been constructed, and two mines were carried under the bastions, to different spots, and matches laid to them at the same time. One explosion preceded the other, and a practicable breach was the consequence. It was supposed that both had been sprung, and two thousand men advanced in separate bodies to enter both breaches at once. The second mine exploded as the party arrived; five hundred of the assailants were killed, and also numbers of the besieged who were crowded on the bastion. Both attacks failed. The king, while superintending the progress of the works, perceived the governor of the place, by torch-light, directing the repairs of the breaches; seizing a matchlock from one of his attendants, he lodged the ball in his forehead. His soldiers, disheartened by this loss, abandoned all hope of success, and assembling their wives and children, burned them with the corpse of their chief on a funeral pile, they then retired to their temples, where they refused quarter. The temples being stormed, ten thousand Rajpoots were put to the sword. The Rana, notwithstanding the loss of his capital, remained independent.* From Chittoor Akbar returned to Agra, and there learned that the Mirzas, having left Gujerat, had returned to Malwa, and renewed hostilities by laying siege to Oojein. They were soon compelled to seek refuge again in Gujerat, in 1568.

None of the dynasties which had ruled in India previously to the house of Tamerlane, had such a precarious tenure of the throne. His descendants were, in every respect, aliens "in religion, in language, and in blood." To the Mohammedans in India, these princes were as obnoxious as to the Hindoos. Unlike the royal races of Ghizni and Ghoor, they had no neighbouring dominions on whose people they had hereditary claims, nor such prolific sources as the slave kings to recruit their adherents. The interest which Baber had established in Cabul, was destroyed by the proceedings of Kamran, and the unceasing efforts of the Affghans, for the vindication of their prior claims, converted that warlike people and the Indian Moslems into determined foes. Akbar, at an early period of his reign, appears to have fully comprehended the insecurity of his position; the sudden and effective expulsion of his father, and the fact that it was by external influences that he effected his own restoration, were impressed on his youthful apprehension, and suggested the necessity of devising some means of internally strengthening his hold on the country. "It was probably," says Elphinstone, "by these considerations, joined to a generous and candid nature, that Akbar was led to form the noble design of putting himself at the head of the whole Indian nation, and forming the inhabitants of that vast territory, without distinction of race or country, into one community. This policy was steadily pursued throughout his reign. He admitted Hindoos to every degree of power, and Mussulmans of every part to the highest stations in the state, according to their rank and merit."

In this politic spirit he selected two wives from the Rajpoots, and obtained another for his son, and this alliance, far from being looked upon by the Hindoos as a loss of caste, soon came to be considered an honourable connection.

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* Nine years after his son and successor, Rana Pertab, was deprived of his strongholds of Komulner and Gogunda, probably A.D. 1578, and compelled for a time to fly towards the Indus. But unlike his father, he was an active, high-spirited prince, and his perseverance was crowned with success. Before the death of Akbar, he recovered the greater part of the open districts of his dominions, and founded the new capital called Odeypore, which is still occupied by his descendants. His house alone, of the Rajpoot royal families, has rejected all matrimonial connections with the kings of Delhi; and has even renounced all affinity with the other rajahs, looking on them as contaminated by their intercourse with an alien race.—Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii. p. 271.

In 1569 the king invested the strong highland forts of Rhuntunbhore and Kalingur. In 1571, on the site of a village called Sikree, which he considered an auspicious spot, having had two sons born to him there, he laid the foundation of the city of Futtehpore.

A project of far greater importance than any which had hitherto occupied the young king was now presented to him—namely, the annexation of the kingdom of Gujerat. In the reign of Hoomayoon it has been related how Bahador Shah, the King of Gujerat, after having attained to a high degree of power, and played a conspicuous part in Indian history, had been repeatedly defeated, and coerced to fly from his kingdom. During the subsequent reverses of the King of Delhi, Bahador reassembled an army, and recovered his throne.

The kingdom of Gujerat, previously a province of Delhi, during the troubled rule of the Toghluks had asserted its independence, and from being a narrow tract of land on the plain, it extended from the hilly tract, which connects the Aravalli Mountains with the Vindaya chain, to the desert, including that portion called Rin, on the west, to the sea, on the south, which nearly encloses a part of it, and forms a peninsula, Kattywar, equal in extent to all the rest of the province, and on the north it is bounded by the Gulf of Cutch and Rajpootana, and on the east by Candeish and Malwa.

On the death of Bahador Shah, Gujerat had descended to his nephew, Mahmood II. On his death, a Hindoo slave named Etimad Khan, who had risen to be in high favour with this prince, conducted the government in the name of a boy whom he asserted was the son of Mahmood. This was denounced as a usurpation by a chief named Jenghis Khan. It was with this prince that the Mirzas had sought refuge, but their restless ambition soon gave offence to their protector, and they were expelled by force of arms. Jenghis Khan, having fallen soon after by the hand of an assassin, the Mirzas returned, in order to take advantage of the commotions they expected to ensue. From the year 1568 to 1572 the kingdom was distracted by various contending factions. To crush these, and restore some order, the regent, Etimad Khan, solicited of Akbar to march thither for the suppression of these distractions, and to take possession of the kingdom. For these purposes he set out for Delhi, in September, 1572, and when he reached Patan he was met by the reigning boy, who formally transferred to him the sovereign power. The King of Delhi acted with prudence and res lution, punished the most formidable of t refractory nobles, and having established government prepared to pursue the Mirza one of whom was at the head of an indepe dent army at Baroche, and another with considerable force near Surat. The king r solved on attacking the force at Baroch Hossein Mirza, who was in command, appri of his approach, set off for the Punjaub excite an insurrection there. Akbar, with small body of horse, hastened to interc him, and after a day's pursuit found hims with an insignificant escort, which amoun to one hundred and fifty-six only, in p sence of the enemy, one thousand stro With this small force he commenced t attack. To the employment of Hind chiefs—a remarkable feature in his poli and to which may be fairly ascribed the ra extension of his authority—may be fairly tributed the preservation of the king's l and the successes of the day. In this sm band were several chiefs of note, and am them Rajah Bhagwan Singh of Jeypore, nephew, and his adopted son, Rajah Man Sin The latter led the advance, and hav crossed the river, instantly charged and repulsed. The king, who was with this b of Rajpoots, was compelled to halt in a l formed by hedges of cactus, which did admit more than three horsemen to adva abreast. In this situation three of the ene attacked Akbar as he stood in advance of men. The rajah of Jeypore gallantly th himself forward to shield his sovereign, spe one and charged the other. The enemy f and the Mirzas succeeded in making t escape. They afterwards dispersed. A subsequent period one of them was cut in Gujerat, some of them escaped to northern part of India, and, being defe near Nagore, fled to the paternal estat Sambal, and, driven thence, entered Punjaub, where they plundered as they w and then fleeing towards the Indus, they into the king's hands, and were put to de One only escaped, Hossein, who, flying f Gujerat into the hills bordering on Cand remained there unnoticed. Gujerat was tirely reduced, and once more annexed to crown of Delhi. Akbar, having completed conquest, returned to his capital, Agra. month had scarcely elapsed after his arr when he learned that Hossein Mirza united with one of the former chiefs of G rat, and had occupied several districts in province, and were then besieging Ahm bad. Though the rainy season had se this did not deter the enterprising prince adopting immediate measures to crush new attempt. He selected two thousand of his choicest cavalry, and sent them on before him. He soon followed, attended by three hundred nobles, mounted on camels, and overtook the main force at the city of Patan. His measures were so promptly decided on, and executed with such celerity, that in spite of the inclemency of the season, and the state of the roads, he accomplished his journey of four hundred and fifty miles in nine days. His little army was greatly inferior in number to the troops whom he had come to attack. On his approach to the besieged town he sent forward an officer to notify it. His sudden arrival astonished the rebels, and made them apprehensive of a simultaneous attack, both from the newly-arrived force and the garrison. Hossein Mirza having inquired, when they were first seen, whose army was that, and being informed that it was an army commanded by the king in person, exclaimed, "It is impossible, for it is only fourteen days since one of my spies saw him in Agra; and I perceive none of the royal elephants." The other replied, "It is only nine days since he marched, and it is clear no elephants could have accompanied him." The engagement was sharp and decisive, the personal valour, judicious and timely charge made with his own guard, won the day; Mirza and his confederate both were slain; the garrison was relieved, and the conqueror again returned to the seat of his government.

The next theatre of his military exploits was Bengal. After the defeat of Sheer Shah II., 1560, a portion of Bahar was occupied by the Moguls. The remainder of that province, with all the country to the east of it, remained to be subdued. Before the restoration of Hoomayoon, Bengal had asserted its independence of Sultan Adili, and had since then been governed by a succession of Affghan princes. At this time Dawood Khan was on the throne. This prince was both weak-minded and vicious. The odium in which he was held had given hopes to his vizier that he might with impunity supplant him. Dawood being acquainted with his design had the traitor executed. This act of summary justice provoked a civil war, with which Bengal was now harassed. Akbar being disengaged from military enterprises, thought this a favourable opportunity of attacking one of the former dependencies, and he accordingly forced from Dawood a promise of tribute. A temporary cessation of troubles at home had tempted that ill-advised prince to reassert his independence, and he had ill-advisedly taken up arms. The king resolved to conduct in person the war in Bengal. In the depth of the rainy season he left Agra with as many troops as could be embarked in a thousand boats. The reverses which he sustained in the first stages of the campaign intimidated Dawood, and he accordingly deputed a person to make terms with the invader, but Akbar insisted on his unconditional surrender. Dawood retired to Bengal, abandoning all Bahar. He thence fled to Orissa. In two battles, which were subsequently fought, the royal troops were defeated, but in the third engagement the rebels were worsted, with the loss of all their elephants, and pursued to the Bay of Bengal, and there soon after submitted. Dawood was left in possession of Orissa and Cuttack, and renounced all pretensions to Bengal and Bahar (1575). The vacillating Dawood did not remain long in quiet. Having been joined by several Affghan chiefs from Bengal and Bahar, he found himself in a very short space of time at the head of fifty thousand men, and retook the greater part of Bengal. A battle was fought between the belligerents. Dawood was defeated, fell into the hands of his enemy, was put to death, and in two days after his son, from natural causes, followed him to the grave. The remains of the sovereignty of the Affghans in India was thus entirely extinguished.

The final overthrow of Bengal as an independent kingdom, and the extirpation of the reigning house, did not terminate all disturbances in that province. Bengal had never been wrested by any of the descendants of Tamerlane from the sway of the Affghans. Its geographical characteristics made it a convenient haunt for the turbulent and disaffected. On the south there extended a tract of land both hilly and thickly wooded; the north was a combination of rugged mountains; intricate forests, marshes, and jungles, extended to the sea. Hither fled all the bold Affghan nobles who had incurred the hostility of the Moguls, and here among their kindred they met friends and protectors. The disgrace of the Affghans was often the source of wealth to the Moguls, and several of the estates held from the crown had come into their possession. The recent conquest of the country, completed about the time of Akbar's great commercial reform, afforded to the sovereign an opportunity of inquiring into abuses, and of regulating the revenue of the province, and placing it on a well organized basis. The tenures on which the estates were held from the crown were rigidly investigated, and the quota of troops were stringently exacted from all the present holders. These regulations pressed heavily on the Mogul proprietors, who, conscious of their power, prepared to resist the authorities. The spirit of insubordination spread rapidly through both provinces—Bengal and Bahar; the insurgents had increased to thirty thousand men; the standard of rebellion was reared, and the king saw himself suddenly stripped of the fruits of his victories by the very forces by whose valour they had been won. During three years this unnatural war continued, and was finally ended by Azim Khan, who succeeded rather by well distributed largesses than by the sword. The Affghans, as might be supposed, were not negligent of the advantages these dissensions afforded them. They seized Orissa, and all the country up to the river Damotter, near Bardwan. Their further progress was interrupted by the death of their chief, and shortly after Akbar found an opportunity of effectually expelling them to Cuttack, and finally reduced them to submission (1580). Their last attempt in arms was in 1600, when their hopes of regaining Bengal were extinguished for ever.

Before the revolt of the Moguls had been suppressed, Akbar's presence was demanded in the Punjaub, to suppress the revolt and invasion of his brother, Mirza Hakeem, the governor of Cabul. Hakeem was defeated, sought an asylum in the mountains, soon after submitted, was generously restored to his former government, and is not found after this in collision with his brother and sovereign. On his return Akbar erected the fort of Attock* (1581), which still stands at the principal ferry of the Indus, and marks the spot at which Alexander the Great and several other conquerors of India crossed that river; and two years after he caused the fort of Allahabad to be built at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges. The ten years included between 1580 and 1590 were distinguished by a series of very important campaigns. The Affghans made an irruption, and intercepted all communication between Cabul and India, and were repelled. Gujerat, which had made a noble effort for its independence, was subdued, and re-annexed. Bengal, which had revolted from Sultan Adili before the return of Hoomayoon, and had remained under different Affghan kings till now, was entirely conquered. In the year 1585 his brother Mirza died, and he occupied his possessions. During these transactions Mirza Solyman had been driven by the Uzbecks out of Badakshan, and the success of the invaders, in all probability, imposed the necessity of the journey which Akbar made shortly after into Cabul. In consequence of his approach, or rather perhaps of the conquerors being satisfied with being left in undisturbed possession of the recent acq tions, the peace remained unbroken.

These events having brought the emp close to the northern range of mountains, great portion of which was comprised wi his dominions, but which gave a me nominal allegiance,—he was induced to dicate his claims and also to extend his s The wars in which he thus became invo were attended with greater difficulties any which he had hitherto undertaken. first of these was the conquest of Cashm A description of this enchanting provi and of its early history, has been given i earlier part of this history.* It had been by a long succession of Hindoo princes d to the beginning of the fourteenth century then fell under the domination of a Moh medan adventurer, and was held by king that religion to its conquest by Akbar, subdued it, and annexed it to his Indian pire in 1586. The fame of its transcend beauties induced him to pay it a visit. he repeated once only, but it became favourite summer retreat of the succe emperors; and still enjoys, undiminished well-merited celebrity.

His next war was with a fanatical t the Roshenias,† who resided in the m tain district bordering on the Khyber P An imposter named Bayazid had, by the sumption of the character of a prophet quired great influence over them. He succeeded in destroying their faith in Koran, and had taught them that not existed but God; that he filled all space, was the substance of all forms. "God," he, "remains concealed in the human n like salt in water, or grain in the plant; the same in all his creatures, and the L of all; since nothing existed but God, meaning was to be assigned to such term right and wrong, good and bad, excep that every man should implicitly obey religious instructor? Behold now," he ad "I am both your god and your prop there is therefore nothing which you ca so meritorious as to obey my commands. you fulfil them, I will restore you after d to the forms of men; if not, you shall be graded to the forms of hogs and bears, those who obstinately oppose shall be ut annihilated." He totally denied the doct of a future state, and directed his perfect disciples to indulge their pleasures without reserve, and to gratify their inclinations without scruple; he assured them they had nothing to do with ordinances or prohibitions of the law; and that whatever was acquired by violence, robbery, or the edge of the scimitar, was lawful. As soon as he had thus prepared his followers, he accustomed them to the use of arms, and locating himself in the mountains, he began to plunder the merchants, levied contributions, propagated his doctrines extensively by the sword; and soon thus extended his sway, and struck terror even into princes. These successes had assumed a serious aspect, and demanded the vigorous interposition of the Mogul government. The power of the Affghans, though broken down beyond the Indus, was still formidable among the fierce and untractable mountaineers of the north-eastern frontier, who relied on their stubborn independence and the security of their alpine homes. The present inhabitants of the chain, which, rising west of the plain of Peshawur, connects the most southern and lowest range of the Hindoo Koosh with the Sufeid Koh and Salt range, and the Suliman Mountains, in their sanguinary and rapacious character fairly represent their forefathers. Bayazid had such a series of successes, that he had the audacity to descend from his ravines to meet the royal troops in the plain. He was defeated with great slaughter, and soon after died of fatigue and vexation. Faith in his name, and the confidence he had inspired, survived him. His bones were exhumed, and borne as precious relics by the Roshenians at the head of their marching columns. His youngest son, Jelala, some time after his death, succeeded to the command, and became too formidable to be repressed by the resources of Cabul. The professed object of Akbar's approach to the Indus, and the temporary removal of his court to Lahore, was to crush this growing power. Successive corps had been sent across the Indus to effect that purpose. The command of them was entrusted to Zein Khan, the emperor's brother-in-law, and to Rajah Bir Bal, his prime favourite. From one of the Affghan tribes, unaided by the Roshenians, the imperial troops sustained a disastrous defeat in the defiles, in the mountains of Swat, supposed to be Karah-Korah and Bilandzei. The army was cut to pieces, and one of the generals and many of the chiefs were among the slain. With alternating fortunes, Jelala maintained the struggle till 1660, when he was in sufficient strength to gain possession of the city of Ghizni. Having been soon after expelled, he made an attempt to recover it, but being repulsed and wounded in the assault, he was pursued, overtaken, and killed in his flight. His followers maintained this religious war during the two succeeding reigns of Jehanghire I. and Shah Jehan. The Affghan tribes have resisted repeated attacks from the Mogul emperors, and from the kings of Persia and Cabul, and, though conquered by the British in the campaign of 1839 and 1842, they still retain their turbulent independence.

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* Attock signifies the barrier, for according to the superstitious notions of the Hindoos, it was held unlawful for them to cross that river.

* Page 105.

† See Dr. Leyden's account of the Roshenian *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi. The doctor profes have gleaned his information from the *Makhzan-Af* in the Affghan language, and from the celebrated P work *Dabistanhi-i-Mazahib*. From the epithet R or the luminous, his followers derived the appellati shenian, *luminati*.

The prosecution of this war, fierce and continuous though it was, did not engross all the attention or absorb the resources of the enterprising monarch. During the prosecution of it he conquered and annexed Scinde and Candahar.

Scinde had passed from the hands of the Affghans into the possession of other adventurers. Some internal commotions presented to Akbar the hope of being able to recover that former province of the kings of Delhi. He accordingly dispatched an army from Lahore to penetrate Scinde from the north. In this war the Scindians were aided by a band of Portuguese, and two hundred natives dressed as Europeans, who are to be, therefore, considered as the first sepoys in India; and they are also said to have had a fort defended by an Arab garrison, the first mention, Elphinstone states, that he has observed of these mercenaries, afterwards so much esteemed, and so frequently employed. Scinde fell in 1592.

The troubles of the early years of Akbar's reign had enabled the King of Persia to reoccupy the province of Candahar, which had been treacherously and ungratefully wrested from that power by Hoomayoon. The King of Persia, Shah Abbas, being plagued by the attacks of the Uzbecks, against whom he wished to enlist the co-operation of Akbar, had neither time nor disposition to resist his attempts upon it.

The annexation of this latter province completed the restoration of all the hereditary possessions which lay to the west of the Indus; and the conquest of Hindostan proper was also nearly accomplished. None of Akbar's predecessors had more of it under his sway. The Rajah of Odeypore still maintained his independence, but all the other Rajpoot chiefs had become attached to his throne, and were now, in consequence of his conciliatory policy and the cultivation of their interests, firm and devoted adherents.

His next object was the Deccan. Of the remote history of this territory, already physically described,* little can be said. In the traditionary annals of the peninsula, it is related that Rama, in his pursuit of Raven, the ruler of Ceylon, who had carried off his wife Siva, had attached it to his kingdom of Oude. The ancient geographical division of the district, into the Dravira, or Tamil country, Carnata, Telingana, Maharashta, and Orissa, is proved by the five corresponding languages, all derived from a matrix radically distinct from the Sanscrit. In 1325 Mohammed Toghluk completed the conquest of the Deccan, but did not long retain his hold of it. The rajahs of Telingana and Carnata were the first to re-assert their independence. Their success was followed by a general revolt, in 1347, and the dynasty of Bahmani established, and its independence recognised at Delhi. The final dissolution of this house, about 1494, gave rise to the independent Mohammedan states of Bejapore, Ahmednuggur, Golconda, Bahar, and Berar. Of these, the two latter, merging into one or other of the remainder, became extinct.

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* P. 124.

As early as 1586, Akbar espoused the cause of Burhan, a brother of Mortezza Nizam Shah, the fourth king of Ahmednuggur, who aspired to the government in consequence of the insanity of the king. An army was sent to establish his pretensions. It failed to do so, and Burhan remained for some years a dependent on his imperial patron. In 1592, on the death of the imbecile, Burhan was called to the vacant throne, but found the kingdom plunged in difficulties from which he failed to rescue it. By his death, in 1595, matters were seriously aggravated. There were no fewer than four pretenders to the crown, and each supported by an army in the field. To the aid of the claimant in possession of the capital an army was dispatched by the emperor; but before it could effect a diversion in his favour, the city fell into the hands of Chand Sultana, regent for her infant nephew, Bahador Nizam Shah (1595). This princess was one of the most extraordinary women that ever figured on the Indian stage. On the approach of the Mogul army, whose designs she reasoned were not confined to the arrangement of the intestine distractions of her kingdom, but to its ultimate appropriation, she directed all her energies to open the eyes of the neighbouring independent states to the approaching gulf yawning for their destruction. She appealed to her relative the Rajah of Bejapore; his alliance she secured. She then applied herself to reconcile the jarring factions which weakened her government; she was here, also, successful. Laying aside their private differences, they combined to combat the ambitious power which threatened the ruin and extirpation of them all. Nehang, an Abyssinian chief, hastened to her relief, cut his way into the capital through the r of the besieging army of Moguls. The s was prosecuted with a vigour, incited by approach of the army of Bejapore; re-infor by two of the contending factions, with e energy and resolution did the besieged p secute their defences, inspired by the pres and example of their royal and unwea heroine, who fearlessly braved the gre dangers. Two mines had been already under the defences, when they were fo nately discovered and rendered useless. T third was fixed before the besieged c undermine it; in the attempt to do so party was blown up, and a wide breach m in the fortifications. Their destruction heartened the most manly of the survi Their faces were to the city and their b to the storming party rapidly advancing the breach. Their terror and despair w changed, in the twinkling of an eye, into miration and resolution. The sultana, rayed in full armour, with her veil th over her face, and a naked sword in her h sprang to the front. The Moguls stood palled by the sudden apparition. Their assault was checked, and the unequal f maintained till a well-armed host rushe her assistance from every quarter. The test was sustained fiercely on both sides evening at length separated the combat leaving the victory to the gallant her The victory brought no respite, the morn dawn beheld the breach repaired and bulwark stronger than ever. A peace sued, but not until, say the traditions of Deccan, her shot having been expended, had loaded her guns, successively, with cop with silver, and with gold coin, and, as a resource, had begun to fire away her je By the treaty which was then made, t the King of Ahmednuggur surrendered t emperor his claim on Berar, of which he made a recent conquest.

This peace was not of long continu and the affairs of Ahmednuggur were more complicated state than ever. The of union, so skilfully completed by sultana was soon severed. She herself assassinated, the capital captured by Akbar, the young king sent a prisoner to the hil of Gwalior. These events, though impo in their consequences, did not secure submission of the entire kingdom; an prince was placed on the throne, and its jugation was not effected till the subseq reign of Shah Jehan, in 1637.

Previously to the taking of Ahmednug the kingdom of Candeish was incorpo with the empire of Delhi.

The remainder of the days of Akbar were embittered, and it is said shortened, by domestic troubles.[*] Both his sons were addicted to excesses of temper and habits, which afflicted the old king. The younger died of intoxication. His other son and successor, Selim, was cruel, a wine drinker, and had more than once rebelled against his indulgent parent, and was jealous of his own son, Khosrow. They were apparently reconciled before his death, which took place in 1605, after a reign of fifty-one years and some months. Of this great prince, it may be fairly pronounced that he was the most powerful, the wisest, and probably the most virtuous of the distinguished princely race from which he sprang. The summary here given of his glorious career, though stripped of much that is valuable, supplies all the leading and important events of his life, and must be read with peculiar interest now that his feeble descendants have fallen from their long-tottering throne, and the last crowned prince of the Mogul line, after a well-organized attempt to recover his independence, is doomed for the remainder of his days to expatriation.

Some years ago, in or about 1844, the attention of the *virtuosi* was called to the sale of some valuable Indian curiosities, which had been stored in the East India Export Dock, and left in undisturbed neglect for a period of four years. The origin of these exquisite marbles was then a subject of dispute. Mr. Laing, who had imported them, had departed this life a very short time previously, and there came no one forward to disclose their history. One report stated that these beautiful works of art formed the finest parts of that glorious monumental edifice, the Taj Mahal,[†] which stands in all its original integrity, about three miles from the fortress of Agra. This was an unjust imputation against the East India Company, who, far from acting with the vandal cupidity insinuated, and far from spoliating this remarkable specimen of Mohammedan architecture, had placed a guard on constant duty to protect it, and had recently expended a lac and a half of rupees in restoring those portions that had been injured by time, and the more active hand of the pillager. Another report had it, that they belonged to the palace of Akbar Khan at Cabul, and had been saved from destruction when, as was stated, the outraged soldiery were demolishing that residence in revenge for the treacherous murder of Sir William M‘Naghten. But the facts of the case were, they had belonged to the sumptuous palace which Akbar the Great had erected at Agra, after he had transferred the seat of government from Delhi thither, and formed the linings of the great hall of audience (Dewan Khaneh Aum). This chamber was beautifully adorned with arabesques and other devices cut about one-eighth of an inch deep into the marble; the interstices being filled in with coloured stones of every hue and shade, so as to imitate, with equal fidelity and splendour, the flowers, fruits, leaves, and other objects comprised in the design.[*] In consequence of the state of decay in which this chamber was,—the marbles threatening to detach themselves from the walls, and to be shivered by the fall,—Lord William Bentinck thought it advisable to remove those exquisite ornamentations. They were, instead of being remitted to enrich our stores of art, sold by auction, and the decorative portions of the *zenana* (the women's apartment), together with the elegant pierced windows, carved or moulded into every geometrical form that the ingenuity of the artist could devise, were purchased by the late Mr. James William Laing, who held a high civil office in the district of Agra. By this gentleman they were packed up in cases, and transmitted, at considerable expense, to England, and eventually brought under the hammer. They were successively knocked down to the highest bidder, fell into private hands, and were dispersed, never to be reunited, thus frustrating any plans which Mr. Laing might have entertained of reproducing in England the architectural wonders of the Mogul empire.[†]

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[*] Colonel Tod, on the authority of the Boondi records,—which, he asserts, are well worthy of belief,—says that a desire to be rid of the Rajah Maun Singh of Jeypore, to whom he was so much indebted, and whom he did not dare openly attack, induced Akbar to prepare a *maajun* (intoxicating confection), part of which he poisoned, but presenting by mistake the innocuous part to the rajah, he took the other himself, and thus perished in his own snare. Maun Singh's offence was, that he seconded the pretensions of his nephew, Khosrow. The old writers of the west attribute the death of this monarch to a similar cause.—TOD'S *History of Rajpootana*.

[†] For its history, see page 94.

[*] If the authority of the Portuguese Jesuit, Catrou, can be relied upon, the native architects of Akbar's reign were furnished with designs for the internal decorations of his palace by Italian artists; and this seems to be corroborated by the fact, that the works of that period far excel in the fertility and abundance of pictorial and artistic genius.

[†] These interesting particulars the author has gleaned from that valuable serial, the *Asiatic Journal*, vol. ii. p. 83. 3rd Series.

CHAPTER XL.

THE REIGN OF JEHANGHIRE.

ON the 10th of October, 1605, Selim, the son of Akbar, ascended the vacant throne, in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

The materials which supply the following sketch of his reign, are drawn principally from his Autobiography, translated by Price, and Gladwin's *History of Hindostan*, with occasional references to Elphinstone's *India*—a work in which the student of the Hindoo and Mohammedan periods of that history will find much to interest and instruct; and from various other works in which special or incidental particulars illustrative of the period are given.

The empire was at this time divided into fifteen *subahs*, or provinces: viz. Allahabad, Agra, Oude, Ajmeer, Gujerat, Bahar, Bengal, Delhi, Cabul, Lahore, Mooltan, Malwa, Berar, Candeish, and Ahmednuggur. There presided over each a governor or viceroy (*sepah sillar*), who was invested with supreme executive powers, military and civil. Therefore the revenue officers, the army and militia, and police, and courts of justice, were under his control, subject to the instructions of the king alone.

Selim assumed the title of Jehanghire, the World-subduing Emperor, and ordered the following pompous legend to be inscribed on the coin of his realm, the new issue of which, together with the substitution of the name in the form of public prayer, were the initiative acts of the emperors of Delhi:—"Struck at Agra, by Khosrow, the safeguard of the world, the sovereign splendour of the faith, Jehanghire, son of the imperial Akbar."

Of the splendour of that power, now shattered and degraded, some idea may be formed by the extravagant magnificence with which the coronation ceremonials were performed. The jewels of the throne alone were estimated at one hundred and fifty millions sterling, and four tons of gold were employed in the workmanship of it. The legs and body were loaded with seven hundred weight of ambergris, so that wherever the throne—which was so constructed that it might be taken to pieces—was removed, no further perfumes were necessary. The pearls and rubies, with which the crown was clustered, were worth two millions and seventy thousand pounds; and the space which surrounded the throne was covered with the most costly brocades and gold-embroidered carpets. Censors of gold and silver were disposed in different directions, from which was emitted the delicious perfume of burning odoriferous drugs. Three thousand camphorated wa lights, three cubits in length, in branches gold and silver, scented with ambergris, il minated the scene from night till mornin a number of beautiful blooming youths, clad dresses of the most costly materials, woven silk and gold, with zones and amulets spar ling with the lustre of the diamond, t emerald, the sapphire, and the ruby, ra after rank, and in respectful attitude, awai the imperial commands; and to crown all, ameers of the empire, from the captain four hundred to the commander of f thousand horse, covered from head to foo gold and jewels, in brilliant array, encirc the throne, awaiting the commands of th sovereign. The *tout ensemble* furnishing example of imperial magnificence seld paralleled, as the great Mogul truly says, this stage of earthly existence.

Among the salutary ordinances, wh were proclaimed at the commencement of reign, the manufacture or sale of wine, or a other description of intoxicating bever was strictly prohibited. "I undertook," says, "to institute this regulation, althou it is sufficiently notorious that I have my the strongest inclination for wine, in wh from the age of sixteen, I have liberally i dulged." * The remarks and reflecti which follow are of so singular a charac that their insertion may not be deemed i pertinent.

"And in very truth, encompassed a was with youthful associates of conge minds, breathing the air of a delicious clim ranging through lofty and splendid salo every part of which was decorated with all graces of painting and sculpture, and floors bespread with the richest carpets silk and gold, would it not have bee species of folly to have rejected the aid of exhilarating cordial,—and what cordial c surpass the juice of the grape? With s acknowledged beneficial effects, it m however, be confessed, that these indulge to excess must expose a man's infirmit prostrate his constitutional vigour, awaken false desires, such being the m injurious properties belonging to the bes stimulants. For myself, I cannot but knowledge that such was the excess to wh I had carried my indulgence, that my daily allowance extended to twenty qu So far, indeed, was this baneful prope carried, that were I but an hour without my beverage, my hands began to shake, and I was unable to sit at rest." The growth of this morbid propensity at length alarmed him, and he gradually reduced his supply to one fourth. After ascending the throne, and when the affairs of the state demanded his attention, he never exceeded his five cups on any occasion; and hoped to be able, eventually, as did his grandfather Hoomayoon, to abstain totally from its use.

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* *Autobiographical Memoirs of Jehanghire*, p. 6

The recorded wealth of the sovereign was immense. Jehanghire asserts that, of the paraphernalia and regalia for state pageants, accumulated by his father, whether in treasure or splendid furniture, the invincible Tamerlane—who had subdued the world, and from whom his father was eighth in descent—did not possess one-tenth; and that on his wishing to ascertain the amount deposited in the treasury at Agra, he had four hundred pair of scales at work day and night weighing gold and jewels only, and at the expiration of five months, the task was far from being completed, and never was. The cause is not stated. An inventory has been published of the treasure in jewels, bullion, coin, and other property belonging to Akbar at the time of his death, in which it is recorded that there were eight large vaults filled with gold, silver, and precious stones, the value of which was inestimable. Of a species of coin struck by Akbar, and called his rupees, there were 199,173,333 crowns =£50,000,000. In jewels, 30,026,026 crowns; statues of gold of divers creatures, 9,503,370 crowns; gold plate, dishes, cups, and household stuffs, 5,866,895 crowns; porcelain and other earthen vessels, 1,255,873 crowns; brocades, gold and silver stuffs, silks and muslins, 7,654,989 crowns; tents, hangings, and tapestries, 4,962,722 crowns; twenty-four thousand manuscripts, richly bound, 3,231,865; artillery and ammunition, 4,287,985 crowns; small arms, swords, bucklers, pikes, bows and arrows, &c., 3,777,752 crowns; saddles, bridles, and other gold and silver accoutrements, 1,262,824 crowns; woollen cloths, 251,626 crowns; brass and copper utensils, 25,612 crowns: making a total, coin included, of 274,113,793 crowns, or £68,528,448 sterling.*

The follies in which he indulged during the lifetime of his father, and the crimes with which he was stained, did not encourage the hopes of the measures he pursued as king. His first ordinance, though a very primitive one, was the cause of much self-gratulation. To the battlements of the royal tower of his palace, his own apartment, he had attached a gold chain—which he named the chain of justice—which extended to the Jumna, with eighty small bells appended, in order, when any injustice were done by a magistrate, the injured party might, by the use of this medium, communicate directly and unobserved with his sovereign; he also remitted some of the taxes which pressed heavily on his poorer subjects; provided for the protection of property and the re-peopling of devastated districts; rendered travelling more secure; saved merchants from the annoyance of having their bales opened without their consent; quartering troops on the inhabitants was forbidden. No person was to suffer, for any offence, the loss of nose or ears; the lords were prohibited from infringing on the lands of the commons, or from exercising authority beyond the confines of their own estates; hospitals, infirmaries, and competent medical aid were provided for the necessitous at the public expense. A decree was issued confirming the dignitaries and feudatories of his father's government in all that they enjoyed during his life, and all grades of public officers were advanced a step. A general pardon and enlargement of prisoners were granted, and the number of persons benefited by this indiscriminate boon may be surmised, when, within the limits of Hindostan, there were not less than two thousand four hundred forts of name and competent strength, and that from one of these, Gwalior, seven thousand prisoners were liberated.

He found the kingdom—so much of it as lay on the north side of the Nerbuddah—in a state of profound tranquillity; but the commotions in Bengal had not been suppressed by the late sovereign, and the independent party in the kingdom of Ahmednuggur, though their capital was in the hands of the foreigner, were daily increasing in strength, and preparing for its recovery.

Though thus devoting his time to the civil administration, his ambition for conquest was not extinguished. He inherited the aggrandizing propensities of his lineage; and, like his father, always cherished a longing desire for the recovery of the inheritance of his ancestors. He contemplated the completion of Akbar's designs on the Deccan, but was restrained by those measures just named, and by a stronger motive still,—what he deemed the impolicy of leaving India unfurnished with troops to the discretion of any son. At this time, although he hypocritically, in his Memoirs, professes the strongest affection for his son Khosrow, he entertained against him the most virulent jealousy, and none of those feelings of hostility were mitigated, which he displayed in the lifetime of the late king, which had driven the mother of the young prince to suicide, and which, at the bedside of his dying father, he had promised to repudiate. Having achieved the conquest of the Deccan, a feat of which he assured himself, it was his intent to conduct his triumphant legions into Samarcand. Some changes in the latter province now challenged his attention; yet he thought the prosecution of the war with the Rana of Odeypore of greater importance, and accordingly sent there an army under the command of a younger son, Parveis, accompanied by some officers of great trust and experience. Shortly after he had reached the scene of action, but not before he had effected an arrangement with the rana, he was recalled, in consequence of the rebellion of his elder brother Khosrow. That young prince, though under surveillance, was no doubt in communication with his adherents. His maternal uncle was one of the most powerful men in the empire, was ruler of Bengal, and had, in the previous reign, actively espoused the cause of his nephew. In March, 1606, at midnight, Jehanghire was roused from his slumbers, and informed that his son had fled towards Delhi, with the intention of proceeding to the Punjaub. In a few hours his favourite commander, Ameer Ool Ombra, was sent in pursuit, with instructions that should matters verge to extremities, "he was not to fail in the application of the resources placed at his disposal; for in the concerns of sovereign power there is neither child nor kin. The alien who exerts himself in the cause of loyalty, is worth more than a thousand sons or kindred."* With all the troops whom he could muster, well provided, he followed, first giving to his ministers commands that they should forward the intelligence to the ameers on the frontiers, and require their immediate presence under the imperial standard. A body of three hundred horse, whom Khosrow met on the road to Delhi, joined him. He hastened to Delhi, and when he reached the Punjaub his force amounted to thirty thousand horsemen. His followers were maintained by the plunder of the districts through which he pursued his way. The father was hurrying along the same line of march, with upwards of ten thousand soldiers, mounted on the fleetest steeds and swiftest camels of the royal stables.

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* See Mandelsloe's *Travels*; Harris's *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 762.

A curious anecdote is related by the king, illustrative of the credulity of the man, and which adds another to the many of the extraordinary historical instances of marvellous coincidences. It is thus related in his ow words :—"I had mounted my horse, and h not proceeded far on my march, when a m came to me who could not have posses any knowledge of my person, and I d manded his name; he replied Murad Khanj 'Murad the Auspicious.' 'Heaven be praised said I, 'my wishes shall be attained.' little further on, and not far from the tomb the emperor Baber, we met another m driving before him an ass loaded with fir wood, and having a bundle of brambles on h own back. I put the same question to hi and he told me, to my great delight, that h name was Dowlut the Auspicious. I th observed to my attendants, how encouragi it would be if the third person we met w Saadet (felix) the Auspicious. What, th must have been the surprise when, proceedi a little further on, we observed a small boy the bank of a rivulet watching a cow grazi I ventured to ask him his name; his answ was, 'My name is Saadet the Propitious.' clamour of exultation arose among my att dants, and with feelings of equal gratificat and satisfaction, I, from that moment, det mined that, in conformity with these th 'auspicious' prognostications, all the affairs my government should be classed under th heads, and called 'the three omens.'"

Khosrow had got possession of the town Lahore, which had been surrendered into hands, and was besieging the citadel, when approach of his father was announced to hi his advanced guard was actually at ha These were charged by the rebels, co manded by four of Khosrow's princ generals. The royalists were victorious; of the rebel generals fell into their hands, one thousand prisoners. These, by the kin direct orders, were condemned to vari punishments, some to be flayed alive, som carry wooden yokes around their nec others to be drawn through the river, and remainder to be trampled under foot by elephants.

Khosrow and his forces were not dismay by this defeat; they prepared at night w one hundred and twelve thousand hors attack the imperial camp. With this res they abandoned the siege of Lahore. telligence reached Jehanghire at Sultanp that the armies were actually engaged. W his body of ten thousand horse he hasten to the scene of action. On reaching G dwal, he was reinforced by twenty thous horse and fifty thousand camel-mou matchlock-men, all of whom were forwarded the support of Sheik Fered, the comman who was engaged. The royalists comme the attack. Khosrow's army, his father st amounted on that day to two hundred thousand, of whom thirty thousand fell on the field of battle, and the remainder fled in dismay. Khosrow, having dismounted from his horse, had entered a litter, in the hope of escaping in the confusion of the pursuit; but being surrounded by the victors, he surrendered himself. Thus ended this decisive battle.* That same night Khosrow was conveyed to the presence of his father, while the latter was discussing the probable issue of the engagement.† The same day the victorious monarch entered the city of Lahore. The king relates, that the treasures of Khosrow, amounting in value to eighteen million pounds English money, fell into the hands of some person who was never discovered. Khosrow was placed in strict custody, and on his unfortunate adherents were inflicted the most excruciating tortures. "Seated in the pavilion," he states, "having directed a number of sharp stakes to be set up in the bed of the river, I caused the seven hundred traitors, who had conspired with Khosrow against my authority, to be impaled alive upon them. Than this," he coolly continues, "there cannot exist a more excruciating punishment; since the wretches exposed frequently linger a long time in the most agonizing torture, before the hand of death relieves them; and the spectacle of such frightful agony most if anything can, operate as a due example, to deter others from similar acts of perfidy and treason towards their benefactors."‡ Nearly a year after these events he returned to Agra.

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* *Autobiographical Memoirs of Jehanghire*, p. 66.

Prince Parveis, who had been recalled from Odeypore, had not time to reach Agra, the command of which was to be intrusted to him during his father's absence, before the rebellion was crushed, and he was now commanded to divert his course to Lahore.

The jaghiredars of the provinces of Ferah and Siestan, led on by the governor of Herat on the part of Shah Abbas, King of Persia, thinking the death of Akbar, and Khosrow's rebellion, a favourable opportunity, laid siege to the fortress of Candahar. They were resisted with such determined bravery, that they were compelled to abandon the enterprise, and their master repudiated the abortive attempt.

An insurrection at Nagore was crushed, and a garrison stationed in Ajmeer. Kulmac, who had been for some time in rebellion, made his submission, and was received into favour. The emperor, in 1606, made a hunting excursion into the Punjaub, leaving Khosrow at Lahore, under charge of one of his confidential chiefs, Asof Khan. The sultan had his younger son Khorum declared his heir; and it was commanded that in all grants and patents he should be recognised heir-apparent.

In the following year (1607) a revolt of the Affghans called for the emperor's presence in Cabul; and whilst here he sent for his son Sultan Khosrow, and showed him some acts of kindness. This resuscitation of paternal affection was soon repressed by the detection of a conspiracy, which had for its objects the release of the young king, and the assassination of his father.

Cabul having been restored to order, Jehanghire next directed his arms against Gujerat and the Deccan, in which insurrections still raged. Having first returned to Agra, he thence marched on Delhi. Mohabat Khan was sent against the Rana of Odeypore, and Khan Khanan in command of the army to the Deccan. These operations not having been conducted successfully by either, the former was succeeded by Abdullah Khan, and the latter by Sultan Parveis. Shortly after his arrival at the seat of war Abdullah Khan obtained a considerable victory over the rana, and blockaded him in the passes of the mountains.

At this period Koteb, a man of low origin, pretending that he was the Sultan Khosrow escaped from prison, collected such a body of adherents, that he was enabled to seize the town of Patna. In an engagement, on the banks of the river Punpun, on which he ventured, after a shadow of resistance, he fled, closely pursued, to Patna, had not time to close the gates, and fell into the hands of Afzul Khan, who put him to death.

The campaign in the Deccan was a succession of disasters. Neglecting to lay in supplies, the imperial army was exposed to all the hardships of famine. The capital of the kingdom, Ahmednuggur, in the possession of the Moguls, since it fell into the hands of Akbar, was lost, a dishonourable peace concluded, and the army forced to retreat, greatly displeased with the conduct of their commander. He was consequently recalled, and on his arrival at court met with a very cool reception.

In 1611 Cabul was again the scene of a

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* Memoirs, p. 88.

† The particulars, as given in the text, are taken from the king's Memoirs. Elphinstone, relying on the narrative by Gladwin, who does not supply his authorities, gives a far different version of the capture of the young prince. He says, "he was totally defeated, and, having fled in the direction of Cabul, he was run aground in a boat, as he was passing the Hydaspes (Chenab), and was seized, and brought in chains before his father." See Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 349; Gladwin's *History of Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 9.

‡ Memoirs, p. 87.

formidable insurrection, headed by Ahdad, an Affghan. An ineffectual attempt, which was repulsed with great slaughter, was made to surprise the city.

What by some of his historians is called the most important event of his life took place in this the sixth year of his reign. It certainly influenced all the after events of his career. This was his marriage with Nour Jehan.[*] A very romantic tale is told of her birth, abandonment, and being, Moses-like, entrusted by her generous preserver to the cares of her mother; how by his generosity they emerged from privacy and obscurity, till at length, through the magic influence of their paragon of a daughter, they found themselves her companions in the regulation of the greatest as well as the richest then existing empire. Her personal charms were unrivalled; her mental powers of the highest order: indeed, it is said that one of those attractions which captivated her royal spouse was her facility of composing extempore verses. "The magnificence of the emperor's court was increased by her taste, and the expense diminished by her good arrangements."[†] And to her is attributed the invention of "attar of roses." In becoming the bride of Jehanghire it is also added she had for her husband the murderer of her first. Her ascendancy was soon felt. Her father was made prime-minister, her brother made steward of the household. All affairs of state were entrusted to her management. She sat behind an open lattice whilst many of the nobility paid her obeisance, and the coin was issued in her name. She was in every respect the absolute monarch of the empire. Her influence was exemplified in the conduct of the emperor. Though retaining some of his old vices, he was never after guilty of such monstrous outrages as before.

In 1612 the Affghans of Bengal were defeated, with the loss of their leader, Osman. This chief had been for several years a troublesome foe. On his death all his adherents submitted.

About this time a treaty was concluded with the Portuguese. The envoy brought back with him all the curiosities he could procure, among them several curious birds and beasts, and amongst them Jehanghire describes a turkey cock as a bird that he had never before seen.

The protracted war in the Deccan at length decided Jehanghire on making one well organized effort. In order to understand the state of affairs, it is necessary to recapitulate the events of some years previously. After the taking of Ahmednuggur, and the death of Chand Sultana, the Abyssinian, Malik Amber, whose heroic exploit in cutting his way through the besieging army has been noticed, founded a new city on the site of the present Aurungabad, and through several vicissitudes sustained the wavering fortunes of Nizam Shah. He proved himself an able financier, and as such is remembered still in the Deccan. By him the Moguls were repeatedly defeated, Ahmednuggur recovered, and Khan Khanan obliged to fall back on Berhampore. On the disgrace of this general he was succeeded in the command by Khan Jehan.

Abdullah Khan, viceroy of Gujerat, was directed to penetrate into the Deccan from that province, while Sultan Parveis and Khan Jehan Lodi, reinforced by Rajah Man Singh were to advance from Candeish and Berar. Though this series of military operations was ably planned, it was entirely frustrated by the imprudence of Abdullah. He ill-advisedly advanced before the appointed time for the arrival of the other armies with whom he was to co-operate. His able adversary did not overlook the mistake. The proximity of the ports possessed by the Europeans enabled him to command a superior train of artillery, and they also afforded him a rallying point on which he could fall back and recruit his army. His tactics, while they enabled him to cut off the enemy's supplies, and to harass them on their march, afforded them no opportunity of coming to a pitched battle. The Moguls were in constant apprehension, and in continual disorder and fear, and were at length reduced to such straits, that they were obliged to resolve on retreat. The consequences may be easily foreseen. With great loss of troops he reached the hills and jungles of Baglana. Thence his progress to Gujerat was unmolested. When he was falling back his colleagues were advancing. The disasters of the army on whose aid they relied together with the confidence of their foes flushed with recent victories, made them consider it the most prudent course to abandon the campaign, and fall back on Berhampore.

Fortune was more favourable elsewhere. The emperor had sent his son Sultan Khorrum to command against the Rana of Odeypore. As soon as he arrived at his destination he began to pursue active and skilful measures: he dispatched foraging parties, which soon laid waste the most fertile districts, and drove the detached troops before them into the mountains, and reduced him to such extremities, that he sought earnestly for peace. This was granted in a liberal spirit; and

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[*] "The light of the world;" also Nour Mahal, "the light of the harem."

[†] Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 356.

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moment that Rana Ameer Singh had tendered his homage, with a stroke of policy worthy of his grandfather Akbar, the prince, laying hold of both his hands, lifted him up, and embraced him, and entered into familiar conversation. All the lands conquered from him during the last sixty years were restored. The advantages secured by this conquest are thus catalogued by Jehanghire himself in his Memoirs:*—"It was agreed to put my lieutenants in possession of the best and most flourishing parts of the country, and, among others, of the city and town of Puttun, celebrated for the manufacture of its cloth of gold, such as is not to be met with elsewhere in all India. Ahmednuggur, the former capital, was also ceded. Khanapore, a district which for verdure of landscape and deliciousness of climate is unequalled, and the province of Berar, a month's journey in compass, and for its numerous and flourishing population, equal to any in India. All these were now transferred to my sovereign authority, together with a train of elephants, four hundred in number, of the highest value for size and courage. These were furnished with caparisons, chains, neck-fastenings, and bells, all of gold," &c. The success of his favourite son was hailed by his delighted father with every demonstration of affection; he was henceforth looked upon as the successor to the throne, and his hopes in that quarter seemed the more probable, as he had recently married the niece of Nour Mahal. Having received the name Shah Jehan, with which he afterwards ruled, that designation shall be employed in all future mention of him.

These events terminated in the year 1614. In the year following Ghoorka was annexed, and the Portuguese, who in 1613 had violated the treaty into which they had recently entered by seizing some merchant ships near the port of Surat, and making several Mussulmans prisoners, attempted to seize the castle of Surat, and were repulsed by the English, who resided there under the emperor's protection. The English, with their fireworks, burnt several of the ships belonging to the Portuguese, and gave them so warm a reception, that they were obliged to retreat. The Portuguese alleged that it was the English who commenced hostilities. In this year it may be also remarked that Sir Thomas Roe arrived at the court of Agra as ambassador from James I. of England. The design was conceived in the reign of his more energetic predecessor Elizabeth. Her death prevented its consummation. He arrived at Ajmeer on the 23rd of December, 1615, and accompanied the emperor to Mandoo and Gujerat, and did not leave till 1618. His observations, during his protracted residence on the affairs of the empire, from the point of view from which a stranger first introduced to witness a state of things, of which he could have no definite conception, are necessarily interesting, and deserve perusal.*

In the year 1616 the plague, which had never before visited Hindostan, appeared first in the Punjaub, spread to Lahore, and after it had abated in that quarter broke out in the Doab and Delhi, and committed great devastation.

The proceedings of the army in the Deccan, owing to the mismanagement of Sultan Parveis, were daily becoming more unfavourable. The reputation which Shah Jehan had achieved in his late campaign, determined the emperor to assign to him the command in that quarter, whilst he himself advanced to sustain him. On this occasion Shah Jehan was raised to the rank of king, and some writers from this time call him Shah Khosrow, and others Shah Jehan, a dignity hitherto confined to the emperors of the house of Tamerlane. On this occasion both kings rode in carriages made after the English fashion drawn by four horses. The model had been presented by Sir Thomas Roe. On crossing the Nerbuddah Shah Jehan was met by Khan Khanan and the principal chiefs of the army in the Deccan. He entered Berhampore on the 2nd of March, 1617, and was soon after joined by the prince of Bejapore, who had already abandoned the declining fortunes of the brave old chief Malik Amber. Having risen from a private rank in life, Malik's abilities and successes did not ensure him that unanimous support he so richly deserved. His confederates were jealous of him, and even his own officers now began to desert him. Thus abandoned, he was obliged to make submission on the part of Nizam Shah, and to surrender into the hands of the conqueror the city of Ahmednuggur, and all the territories which he had reconquered from the Moguls. As soon as the articles of the treaty were fulfilled Shah Jehan returned to Mandoo, to join his father, in September, 1617. On the Khan Khanan were conferred the governments of Candeish, Berar, and Ahmednuggur. The following particulars are noteworthy.

Tobacco, introduced a few years previously by the Portuguese, was prohibited on the allegation that its use was prejudicial to health. In this proceeding the emperor followed in the footsteps of Shah Abbas, the King of Persia, who had forbidden it throughout his kingdom under the severest penalties. On

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* Page 118.

* See Roe's Journal, published in Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. i.

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the 26th December, 1618, about an hour and twelve minutes before sunrise, there appeared in the horizon a luminous little cloud. It rose later every morning by twenty-four minutes, till on the sixteenth day it was discovered to be a comet with a dark tail. Its course was from the sign Scorpio to Libra. The Indians, with a superstitious feeling then general, believed that it prognosticated the plague which followed, and the war which was afterwards waged by Shah Jehan against his father. At this time there appeared in Candahar a great swarm of rats, which entirely devoured the produce of the earth, and devastated several of the granaries; great numbers were killed, and the remainder vanished as unaccountably as they had appeared. In the latter end of the year a dreadful disorder made its appearance in Cashmere, and proved fatal to great numbers. Its symptoms were a headache and bleeding at the nose; on the second day it proved fatal. There was also a fever, from which very few escaped, which lasted only two or three days. It totally exhausted the patient's strength, left pains in the joints, but did not prove fatal to any one. The emperor, while at Ahmedabad, had an attack of it, from which he suffered severely.

The marvellous tales which had reached Jehanghire of the ocean, whose broad expanse and marvels had never been seen by him, induced him to visit the maritime province of Gujerat, and particularly the city of Ahmedabad, whose wealth and magnificence were celebrated; he was also desirous of enjoying the sport of wild elephant hunting. He was accompanied by his favourite sultana, who, mounted on her elephant, is said to have killed four tigers with a matchlock; this feat so delighted her enamoured spouse, that he presented her with a pair of emerald bracelets of great value. The viceroyalty of that province was added to the government, already conferred on Shah Jehan. In September, 1618, the emperor quitted Gujerat. The only events which mark the next two years are an insurrection in the Punjaub, the capture of Nagrakote, and the visit to Cashmere, the theme of one of the most exquisite of Moore's beautiful poems, *The Feast of Roses*, in which has been drawn the following exquisite portrait of Nour Mahal:—

There's a beauty, for ever unchangingly bright,
Like the long sunny lapse of a summer day's light,
Shining on, shining on, by no shadow made tender,
Till love falls asleep in its sameness of splendour.
This was not the beauty—oh, nothing like this—
That to young Nour Mahal gave such magic of bliss!
But that loveliness, ever in motion, which plays
Like the light upon autumn's soft shadowy days.
Now here and now there, giving warmth as it flies
From the lip to the cheek, from the cheek to the eyes;
Now melting in mist, now breaking in gleams,
Like the glimpses a saint hath of heaven in his dreams.
When pensive, it seemed as if that very grace
That charmed all others was born with her face!
And when angry,—for ev'n in the tranquillest climes
Light breezes will ruffle the blossoms sometimes,—
The short passing anger but seemed to awaken
New beauty, like flowers that are sweetest when shaken.
If tenderness touched, the dark of her eye
At once took a darker, a heav'nlier dye;
From the depths of whose shadow, like holy revealings
From innermost shrines, came the light of her feelings.
Then her mirth—oh, 'twas sportive as ever took wing
From the heart with a burst, like the wild bird in spring;
Illumin'd by a wit that would fascinate sages,
Yet playful as peris' just loosed from their cages;
While her laugh, full of life, without any control
But the sweet of her gracefulness, rang from her soul;
And where it most sparkled no glance could discover,
In lip, cheek, or eyes, for she brightened all over,
Like any fair lake that the sun is upon,
When it breaks into dimples and laughs in the sun.
Such, such were the peerless enchantments that gave
Nour Mahal the proud lord of the East for her slave;
And though bright was his harem,—a living parterre
Of the flowers of this plant,—though treasures were there
For which Solyman's self might have giv'n all the store
That the navy from Ophir ere winged to his shore—
Yet dim before her were the smiles of them all,
And the light of this harem was young Nour Mahal.

This is the glowing description, clustered with poetical pearls as rich and as rare as any product of the luxuriant East, given by the poet of Ireland, Moore, of the mistress of Jehanghire's affections.

The temporary indulgence and relaxation upon which he calculated in this charming retreat, was forbidden by a new outbreak in the Deccan, which made him sensible of the ill-effects of being at such a distance from the seat of empire. He resolved to return to Agra. Malik Khan could not tamely brook the humiliation to which he was reduced; and in taking up arms it does not appear that he was stimulated by any act of oppression; he was probably, as Elphinstone observes, tempted by some negligence on the other side, for he had little difficulty in taking possession of the open country, and driving the Mogul commanders into Berhampore, whence they urged Jehanghire for immediate succour. Shah Jehan was sent forward to their relief with a powerful army. He refused to undertake this expedition, unless his brother was placed in his custody, probably from the fear that Khosrow would win, in his absence, the confidence of his father, and thus cut off the chance of ascending the throne to which he aspired. From this war the unfortunate prince never returned. It happened very opportunely, according to human reasoning, for Shah Jehan, as at this time his father was reduced to the last extremity by an attack of asthma—a complaint to which he was then subject, and with which he was afflicted during the remainder of his life. "Though it brought," says Elphinstone, "the strongest suspicions of violence against the rival to whose custody he had been given, we ought not, however, too readily believe that a life, not sullied by any other crime, would be stained by one of so deep a dye."*

When Shah Jehan commenced this campaign, he was in his thirtieth year. In its prosecution he justified the confidence reposed in his abilities. In a pitched battle he gained a decisive victory, and forced his able adversary to sue for terms. In consideration of this success, Shah Jehan ordered a stone fort to be built, to which he gave the name, Zufferabad, or the City of Victory. Affairs in the Deccan were now completely settled, and after the rains the conqueror returned with his army to Berhampore.

The very friendly intercourse which had been maintained with the Persian court, and the prompt repudiation a short time previously of the attack made on Candahar by some Persian chief, led Jehanghire to imagine that that province was safe from attack, and consequently but a small force was maintained for its defence. This was a temptation Shah Abbas could not—certainly did not—resist; he unexpectedly marched with a great army against it, and without much trouble became its master. To wipe off this disgrace the conqueror of the Deccan was ordered to Candahar. In reply to those orders he wrote to the emperor, stating that he did not need any reinforcements; but in order to ensure success, it was necessary that he should be invested with the full command of the army, and released from all control. He also requested, that on account of its vicinity to Candahar, the viceroyalty of the Punjaub might be conferred upon him, and the fort of Runtore. These were extraordinary demands, and exposed the prince to the suspicion of aiming at independence; while, on the other hand, they are said to have been merely precautionary, to secure himself from the powerful influence at work to effect his disgrace.

The great court influence of the empress, Nour Mahal, has been already stated. The alliance which Shah Jehan had made with her, by marrying her niece, together with the disgrace in which the eldest son was in with the father, had raised him to the great power and distinction which he had attained, and gave him the hope of being the occupant of the throne, though two elder brothers stood between him and it. The death of the eldest, Khosrow, which seemed to complete his security, led to a chain of circumstances which nearly effected his ruin, and, if accessory to his brother's death, he must have felt the retributive justice. Nour Mahal's father, who, after her marriage, was appointed the chief minister, had recently died. He had been visited by the royal pair while he was on his sick-bed, the day preceding his death. He was a man of considerable ability and wisdom, and had apparently, during his life, controlled the ambitious spirit of his daughter. The sage counsellor being removed, her influence and authority were unbounded; everything was regulated by her advice. The emperor seemed to have surrendered all power into her keeping; promotion and degradation were the results of her judgment or caprice. The dangerous state of the king's health rendered his life precarious. Were he removed, and a prince of the decided character and determination of Shah Jehan placed upon the throne, she must sink from her pinnacle of power into comparative insignificance. Rather than submit to such an alternative, she determined to use her present influence to prevent the succession of Shah Jehan. In these intrigues she could command the co-operation of her brother, who, though the father-in-law of the prince, was the creature of her will.

She knew there was no time to be lost. Her daughter, by her first husband, she had affianced to Sheriar, the fourth and youngest son of the emperor—a connection of itself, irrespective of the considerations mentioned, sufficient to undermine her attachment for a more distant relative. She resolved to raise her son-in-law to the throne, confident, from his weak capacity, that she could always maintain her influence over him; and she calculated that by a liberal distribution of the public treasure, she would be able to effect that object. From this time forward she lost no opportunity of lowering Shah Jehan in his father's estimation. The extraordinary powers with which he sought to be invested, in all probability were required to protect him from the influences which he was assured were at work to his detriment, and for the more effectual exercise of which, he suspected, he was dispatched to such a distant part of the empire. His demands, she warned the king, clearly proved that the prince only wanted absolute power to dethrone him. These suspicions were so insidiously repeated, that the emperor was persuaded of their truth. Having succeeded so far, she proffered to defray the expense of the war from her private purse if Sheriar were invested with the command. This the empress was enabled to do, for it is highly probable that the large estates of her first husband, after his murder, reverted to her; and recently the emperor had conferred upon her all the wealth of her deceased father. The infatuated Jehanghire complied with all her demands. Shah Jehan was directed to send the greater part of his army to the capital, to accompany Sheriar to Candahar. Orders were also forwarded to the principal officers, commanding their presence in the camp of the latter. The jaghires which he held in Hindostan were also transferred to Sheriar, and Shah Jehan was directed to select for himself equivalents in the Deccan and Gujerat. The youth of her *protégé* and his inexperience did not escape her sagacity or prudence. Her brother, though in her confidence and devoted to her interest, had not capacity. She foresaw how much the success of her after measures would depend upon the *éclat* of this expedition, and she took the necessary precautions that there should be no failure arising from the omission of all that experience could supply. Mohabat Khan, the most rising general of the time, but hitherto inimical to her family, was summoned to court from his government of Cabul, and received with every mark of respect and confidence. Mirza Rustum, for many years governor of Candahar, and who it was supposed would be the best adviser, was appointed *etaleek* to Sheriar, and commander-in-chief of his forces, and was dispatched to Lahore to make the necessary preparations. Jehanghire, who, in consequence of the state of his health, had been to Cashmere, returned on the commencement of these differences, and fixed his court at Lahore, to be at hand in case his presence should be required.

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* Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii. p. 368.

The object of the empress, and of the measures she pursued, was to bring matters to a speedy issue. Should Shah Jehan tamely submit, her ends were achieved without further trouble; should he have recourse to arms he would subject himself to the odium of having commenced an unnatural rebellion, and in that attempt she calculated on her ability to crush him. Her vanity as well as her ambition were now interested in the struggle. Shah Jehan, in a communication to his father, after expatiating upon the dutiful tenor of his life, modestly mentioned the services he had rendered, lamented that he should have incurred his majesty's parental regard without the shadow of offence, for the gratification of the ambition of a base woman and her degenerate son-in-law, and begged leave to retire to Surat, "the door of righteousness to Mecca," where he would employ his whole time in praying for his majesty's health and prosperity.* When the bearer of the despatch returned to Shah Jehan, he assured him that matters were come to a crisis, remonstrances would no longer avail, and abject submission must terminate in utter destruction. It was then decided to act with vigour, and accordingly, without loss of time, the now rebel army marched towards Agra. On intelligence of this movement reaching Lahore, Jehanghire led forth his army in person, and arrived within twenty miles of the rebel camp, forty miles to the south of Delhi. The chief command of the imperial troops was conferred on the new favourite Mohabat Khan, and Prince Parveis accompanied him. Shah Jehan retreated, and the usual results followed. The force left to defend the passes in the hills of the Chambal deserted to the enemy; the province of Gujerat expelled its governor; Khan Khanan, hitherto attached to him, abandoned him; he himself was driven across the Nerbuddah, and forced to seek refuge in Berhampore; hence expelled, he retreated to Tel[illegible]nana, and was deserted by the greatest part of his adherents before he had reached Masulipatam, on his way to Bengal, to which he was retiring. He accomplished this long and wearisome march in the early part of the succeeding year, 1624. He defeated in battle the governor of this province, and thus obtained possession of it, and shortly after of Bahar.

When Shah Jehan was driven from Berhampore the imperialists took possession of it, and were there quartered during the rainy season. On learning the success of Shah Jehan in Bengal, they put themselves in motion in the direction of Allahabad. Shah Jehan crossed the Ganges to meet them, but here received neither aid nor sympathy. His supplies failed; his communication with the river was intercepted; the new levies deserted; he was defeated; his army was dispersed; and he sought an asylum in the Deccan, the scene of so many of his triumphs. Here he was received by his old adversary Malik Amber, who was then in arms against the Moguls. They jointly laid siege to Berhampore, which, on the approach of Mohabat they abandoned. Deserted by all, and reduced by ill-health as well as adverse fortunes to the greatest exigency, he sought his father's forgiveness, and expressed his willingness to submit to his commands. Jehanghire wrote himself in reply, assuring him that if he would send his two sons, Dara Shekoo and Aurungzebe, to court, and surrender the forts which were held in his name (Rohtas in Bahar, and Asirghar, in the Deccan), he would grant him a full pardon, and restore him the possession of the Deccan. Shah Jehan complied faithfully with the conditions. How far the emperor would have fulfilled part we are without the means of judging, by an event as unpremeditated as it was successful, and which startled the entire empire, and changed considerably the aspect of affairs. This was nothing less than the seizure of the emperor's person by Mohabat Khan, who, after his eminent services in reducing Shah Jehan, incurred either the enmity or suspicions of Nour Mahal, and fell into disgrace. The ostensible charges against him were the appropriation of the plunder, to account for which he was summoned to court. After some hesitation, he at length made his appearance, but being refused admission to the presence, he saw that he had survived his court influence, and was to be the victim of his enemies. The king was at this conjuncture on the banks of the Chenab, and his army had crossed the river in their advance to Cabul. He remained behind, attended merely by his body-guard and personal attendants. Mohabat had come accompanied by five thousand Rajpoots devoted to his interests. Two thousand of these he detached to burn the bridge, at the head of the remainder he surrounded the emperor's quarters, and with two hundred selected for the occasion he penetrated to the emperor's tent. The royal servants were taken by surprise. The monarch, who had long since abandoned the prudent resolution of moderating his libations, was not quite recovered from the effects of the last night's debauch. Startled by the noise, he looked around in the greatest bewilderment. The presence of Mohabat with his armed retainers at length sharpened his perception, and he now fully understood the peril of his situation, and exclaimed, "Ah! Mohabat Khan! Traitor! what is this?" The traitor protested that he had been driven to this violent step in order to preserve his own life from the machinations of Asof Khan. He threw himself at his majesty's feet, imploring, if the emperor thought him deserving of death, that he might be executed in his presence. The emperor, sorely enraged at the outrage done to his person, could with great difficulty listen to the salutary suggestions of his Turkish attendant, who, in a language unintelligible to the rest, counselled him to conform to present circumstances, and to leave to God the infliction of adequate punishment. The Rajpoots crowded into the tents, and expelled all the king's attendants. Mohabat suggested the propriety of his showing himself to the troops, to disabuse them of any suspicions that might be entertained by the ill-disposed. The emperor requested permission to be allowed to retire into the harem to change his clothes. This was merely a pretext to be allowed to consult his empress, who accompanied him. Mohabat, divining in all probability the object, refused him that favour, and only allowed him to bring a horse from the imperial stable, his captive having disdainfully refused to mount one presented to him. The emperor having made his appearance, was received by the Rajpoots with respectful obeisances. Mohabat, reflecting that he would be in safer custody and more conspicuously seen, placed him on an elephant whose driver could be depended on.

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* Gladwin's *History of Hindostan*, p. 59.

Mohabat committed a serious blunder in not arresting the empress at the same time with her husband. He very soon, but too late, discovered his error. On returning for that purpose, he found she was beyond the reach of his influence. When she ascertained that the king had been taken off, and that there remained to her no means of joining him, with great presence of mind she changed her attire, put on a disguise of the most ordinary description, and got a litter of equally humble pretensions. The guards, who had been left by Mohabat in custody of the bridge, had orders to permit every one to cross over, but to allow no one to return. Nour Mahal had therefore no difficulty in reaching her brother's (Asof Khan's) intrenchments. Her escape greatly disconcerted Mohabat; he next repaired to the tent of Prince Sheriar, but he had also escaped.

The empress, on her arrival among her adherents, summoned a council of the chiefs, and severely inveighed against them, accusing them of cowardice and treachery, and impressed upon them, that there remained no means of redeeming their character but by crossing the river, attacking the traitor, and rescuing their captive monarch. The course which the energetic empress recommended was communicated by some spies to Mohabat, whose representations so alarmed Jehanghire, that he dispatched a trusty messenger, with his signet as a guarantee of his commission, to dissuade his wife and her brother from hazarding such an attempt, which to him, in the hands of an infuriated enemy, might be fraught with the most serious results. Suspecting that the royal captive acted under coercion, no attention was paid to this remonstrance, and it was resolved to cross the river the following morning. During the intervening night a bold but ineffectual effort was made to rescue the emperor by a few gallant spirits, who, finding the bridge destroyed, plunged on horseback into the stream, six were drowned; of the survivors only six, with their chief, succeeded in gaining the opposite shore. They entered the camp, but being discovered, were forced to retreat, and, after killing four or five of the enemy, recrossed the river.

The following morning the army of the royalists was put in motion, and an attempt made to cross the river. The heroic queen placed herself at the head of her troops, seated on the howdah of a conspicuous elephant, armed with a bow and two quivers of arrows, and her infant granddaughter seated by her side. The bridge having been burned by the Rajpoots, the army attempted to cross by a ford discovered lower down the river. The narrow shoal was bordered on both sides by deep water full of dangerous pools. In this perilous transit many lost their footing, and were swept away by the rapid stream. Great confusion was created by these mishaps, and the risks commensurately increased. Those who escaped had had their powder wetted, and were oppressed with the weight of their saturated garments and armour, and obliged to fight for a landing with the rebels who occupied the bank. Nour Mahal was one of the first to make good her landing, and was surrounded by her brother and the bravest of her chiefs. However, she was unable to make any impression on the rebels, who had the advantage of the ground, and poured down rockets, balls, and arrows, on the troops in the ford, and drove them, sword in hand, back into the water. The ford was choked with men, horses, and elephants, and numbers in their desperation sought safety or death by plunging into the stream. The fiercest attack was made on the empress, nor did she quail before the host of her enemies. The Rajpoots had surrounded her elephant; her devoted guards fell, bravely fighting to the last; the balls and arrows fell in showers around. Hers appeared a charmed life; her granddaughter was wounded; the driver of the elephant was slain; the elephant, having received a cut across the proboscis, maddened to fury, plunged into the stream, and was swept away by the current; he at length providentially reached the shore, and the empress was rescued by her suite, who discovered her howdah stained with blood, and herself coolly busied in extracting the arrow and binding up the wound of the infant.* The fearless chieftain, who led the attack of the previous night, with his division gained the opposite bank, and, driving all before him, repaired to Sheriar's tent. Here a violent conflict ensued, and the missiles fell in the royal tent, and around the throne on which Jehanghire was seated. Unable to effect any service, the brave Fidai Khan retired towards Rohtas, of which he was governor, where he arrived the following day.

Nour Mahal having been thus frustrat her spirited attempt, now resolved on extraordinary measure. She proceeded the camp of Mohabat, placed herself a vo tary captive in his hands, and besought t allowed to share her husband's durance. trusted to fortune and her own expedi for deliverance. The reliance which she apparently placed in her former *protégé* have revived some of his confidence devotion. She was well received, and he forth Jehanghire was treated with all apparent deference due to his exalted st Mohabat, as prime-minister, actually re lated the affairs of state. The emp brother, sons, and many of his friends, shortly after into his power, to some of w he acted with great cruelty. The e army acknowledged his command, yet authority was far from being secure. king's two sons were at large. The Raj were the only column of the army faithf Mohabat; the indulgence with which were necessarily treated, made them only formidable to himself, but odious t great bulk of the army, and their unrestr licentiousness outraged the population, led to some very serious disturbances. one occasion a party of them procee one of the emperor's hunting-lodges, the toils were set, and were refused a tance by the Ahdyans who were on g The haughty Rajpoots put these men to sword. The relatives of the victims app to the emperor for redress; in his sta restraint he was obliged to temporise them. They departed, greatly displ and on the next morning arose in force, and attacked the Rajpoots, and very nearly one thousand of them. Am these were some of Mohabat's most fai adherents. Mohabat fled during the t to the royal pavilion for safety, and it only by the interference of the sover that the affray was terminated, and restored. As a sequel to this, five hu of the Rajpoots were seized in the cou and were carried beyond the Hindoo K and there sold as slaves. The loss of number out of five thousand weakened habat very much. He from this time to feel that his objects were to be accompl rather by persuasion than fear. Nour M was quite aware of the difficulties of his s tion, and prepared to take advantage of She counselled the emperor to resign hi to Mohabat's will, and to impress him the opinion that he was glad of being rel from the influence exercised over him b and her friends, and even to carry his d city so far as to warn him against the feelings of jealousy which she entertained for him, and to caution him against the intrigues which were prosecuted to his disadvantage. These artifices were entirely successful, and Mohabat was assured that he possessed the full confidence of his royal captive. He was thus lulled into false security, and paid little or no attention to the designs of others. In other quarters, guided by her masterly mind, agencies were at work to accomplish the ruin of the traitor and the liberation of the emperor. The Omrahs were incited by her emissaries to resent the outrage offered to their sovereign, and, in his person, to themselves, and stimulated to retrieve their character by delivering him from captivity. One of her confidants had privately raised two thousand men in Cabul, who were on their march. Agents were at work in various quarters, whence some were to straggle into camp, as if in search of employment, and others were to await orders. When the two thousand cavalry from Cabul were within a day's march of Rohtas the emperor ordered all his jaghiredars to muster their troops. When they were drawn up, Jehanghire advanced alone to the review; and having approached the centre of the first line, the troops encircled him, and cut off the Rajpoot guard by which he had been attended. Thus the emperor both lost and regained his liberty on the banks of the same river. Mohabat was now conscious of having been duped; he withdrew with his army, and entered into negotiations for his pardon and safety. He shortly after, on the demand of the emperor, delivered up the empress's brother and other men of high rank who were in his power.

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* See Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 379; Gladwin's *History of Hindostan*, p. 81.

The disastrous events of recent occurrences did not extinguish the ambitious aspirations of this wonderful woman. The restoration of the emperor to liberty revived her designs. To achieve the release of Asof Khan she was obliged to come to terms with Mohabat, and she now proposed to herself by his instrumentality to accomplish the destruction of Sultan Shah Jehan. This prince, when he had received intelligence of the rebellion of Mohabat, marched immediately, at the head of one thousand cavalry, to the aid of his father. On the march the most powerful and most faithful of his adherents, Rajah Khan Singh, who commanded five hundred of his troops, died, who all on that occasion dispersed. With the remainder he fled through Ajmeer, Nagore, Juddypore, and thence to Jussulmere and Tatta, in Scinde, as a place of safety. Hence, in despair of brighter fortunes, he would have fled for an asylum to the court of Persia, had he not been prevented by the state of his health. Mohabat was commanded to proceed, and attack him at Tatta, and hastened in that direction, where the unfortunate prince was with a body of only five hundred adherents. The fort was defended with three thousand horse and two thousand infantry. The governor made a sally, and was driven back. Shah Jehan was encouraged by this repulse to make an effort to storm the town, but was unsuccessful. While Mohabat was on his march the progress of events made a change favourable to the future of the unfortunate prince. His brother Parveis, who had been a considerable time in bad health, the result of indulgence, died. Mohabat was again in disgrace; and Nour Mahal had dispatched intelligence to Shah Jehan of his retreat, and advised him to repair to the Deccan, to be ready to defend himself from any attack. Mohabat was endeavouring to escape from a powerful imperial army that was in hot pursuit of him; he entered Hindostan, and in his extremity had resolved to throw himself upon the mercy of his old and recent adversary. Shah Jehan readily accepted his proffered services, and was shortly after joined by him with two thousand cavalry. He was honourably received.

The virulence of the emperor's complaint had so increased, that he was unable to endure the summer heat of Hindostan. He had returned from Cabul to Lahore, and having made the necessary arrangements to enable him to enjoy some relaxation, he retired, not so much as a matter of pleasure as of necessity, to Cashmere. Shortly after his arrival he had a violent attack of his disorder, which it was apprehended would prove fatal. Such was not the case; he escaped for the present, and removed to the warmer climate of Lahore, where his youngest son, Sheriar, was also sojourning for the benefit of his health. On the third day of his journey the emperor had a very severe attack of asthma; he called for a glass of wine, but was not able to swallow it, and was conveyed to his tent, where he shortly after expired, on the 28th of October, 1627, in the sixtieth year of his age, and twenty-second of his reign.

The day-dreams which Nour Mahal had so devotedly cherished were all dissipated on the death of her husband. Her favourite, Sheriar, was absent; her brother declared for his son-in-law, Shah Jehan, to whom, with all his acquiescence in her intrigues, he was secretly attached, and whose pretensions he was now determined to support. He lost no time in summoning him from the Deccan. To afford himself the opportunity of maturing his schemes, he released from prison Dawar, the son of Khosrow, and had

him proclaimed king. Nour Mahal he had placed under temporary restraint. Henceforth, though she survived twenty-four years, she kept aloof from politics, and devoted her widowhood to the memory of her husband. She was granted a liberal allo
—two hundred and fifty thousand pou
year. She was buried in a magnificent
erected at her own expense, close to t
Jehanghire, at Lahore.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE REIGNS OF SHAH JEHAN AND AURUNGZEBE.

Shah Jehan was in the thirty-seventh year of his age when he ascended the throne of Delhi, on the 1st of February, 1628. His brother Sheriar, who had been led to expect that the succession would devolve upon him, was in Lahore when his father Jehanghire yielded up his spirit. He had with him his two nephews, who had been intrusted to his care through the machinations of his mother-in-law, who had so disposed of them lest, if at large, they might be an impediment to the development of her intentions. In this emergency he formed a coalition with them, seized the public treasury, and by his largesses brought over the soldiery. Asof Khan, at the head of his army, approached to assert the claims of his son-in-law. Sheriar marched out to meet him, and give him battle; he was defeated, and compelled to fly for shelter to the city. He was betrayed by his followers, and, together with his nephews, executed by orders of Shah Jehan.

This prince, as soon he received intelligence that the throne was vacant, without delay, complied with the summons of Asof Khan. He arrived in Agra, accompanied by Mohabat, and took formal possession of the throne. The festival which solemnized his elevation involved an expenditure of one million six hundred thousand pounds.

The first trouble which disturbed his reign was an incursion of the Uzbecks into Cabul. On his approach they retired to the mountains; but Mohabat Khan, who was in command, was then sent into the Deccan to suppress some serious commotions there. Khan Jehan Lodi, an Affghan of low origin, who had been in great favour during the last reign, and held command under the late Sultan Parveis in the Deccan, had recently entered into terms of amity with the son of that brave old veteran, Malik Amber, now at the head of Nizam Shah's government. This man had refused to accompany Jehan on his setting out to assume the government, and marching to Malwa, laid siege to Mandoo, and obviously was preparing, in the unsettled state of the empire, to pave the way for his own independ
The suppression of this threatened oppo
and Shah Jehan's secure tenure of the t
suggested to him a less offensive course.
returned to his obedience, was for the p
restored to his command, but shortly
wards translated to Malwa, and M
Khan placed over the Mogul territo
the Deccan. He was shortly after invi
court, and treated with every mark c
tinction. It was whispered to him that
demonstrations were all assumed, and
preparations were being made for his
Rumours, whether true or false, excit
suspicions, and shortly after, about mid
with kettle-drums beating at the head
thousand followers, he marched out of
attended by his twelve sons. He was
sued, and overtaken on the banks
Chambal. After a hard-fought confl
crossed the river, and escaped through
cund into the thickets of Gundwana, a
these fastnesses he opened a communi
with his old ally, the sovereign of Ah
nuggur. The complicated state of affa
that quarter demanded the emperor's pre
He proceeded thither at the head of a for
able army, which, when he arrived at Bu
pore, he separated into three divisions, and
patched into various parts of the int
Each division was fifty thousand strong.

The distractions, which had originat
the treatment of the Sultan Shah Jeha
his father, afforded to the three sover
in the Deccan an opportunity of recov
those portions of their dominions of w
they had been deprived; and the emp
sway was confined to the eastern ha
Candeish and a portion of Berar. The
powerful of these three kingdoms was Ah
nuggur. Its position it owed to the
Abyssinian chief, Malik Amber, who di
short time previously. His death gave
opportunity to the factious, and in the p
cution of their selfish ends the resourc
the country were wasted, and a fa
afforded to the foreign enemy of prose
his designs. Bejapore was left by its

sovereign, whose career was contemporaneous with that of Malik Amber, in a flourishing condition; and the king of the third kingdom, Golconda, keeping aloof from the contentions of the Mohammedan princes, was extending his dominions by the appropriation of the territories of the neighbouring Indian rajahs. Khan Jehan, who had for some time eluded a conflict, was at length surprised, and his baggage having fallen into the hands of the Moguls, he was driven to seek safety in the hills. He appealed in vain to the sovereign of Bejapore, but with greater success to the King of Ahmednuggur—unfortunately for the latter, for in an engagement which ensued, he was defeated, and obliged to seek the shelter of his forts, and to have recourse to a guerilla warfare. This disastrous defeat extinguished all the hopes of Khan Jehan in this quarter; he fled to the west, where he had some hopes of support, but was overtaken by his pursuers, and with a few faithful adherents put to the sword. His fate did not terminate the war against his ally, Morteza Nizam Shah, the King of Ahmednuggur. This prince, attributing his misfortunes to his minister, re-called to his counsels Futteh Khan, the son of Malik Amber, who had been disgraced and imprisoned. The new minister, still writhing under the injuries inflicted upon him, turned the opportunity thus presented to the destruction of his sovereign, who, with his attached friends, were soon put to death. The minister then sent an offer of submission and a splendid present to Shah Jehan, and raised to the throne an infant, who avowedly held his dignity in subordination to the emperor.

Adili Shah, the King of Bejapore, who had at first refused to co-operate with Khan Jehan in his opposition to the Moguls, was now sensible of his egregious mistake, and actually sent an army to support the late King of Ahmednuggur. Against him Shah Jehan turned his arms, and the wavering Futteh Khan, forgetful of his late engagements, united his forces with those of Bejapore, but very soon after abandoned the alliance, and joined the imperialists. The King of Bejapore displayed a great amount of intrepidity and skill. The overwhelming force brought to bear against him coerced him to seek shelter within the fortifications of his capital, where he was besieged by Asof Khan. The Mogul commander was artfully diverted by some ingenious artifices, and during this time famine and disease were doing their deadly work among his troops. Through the failure of the periodical rains in 1629, of which there was a recurrence in the following year, a wide-spread famine afflicted Hindostan. Forage failed, cattle perished, and the people died in thousands. The imperial army was visited by these dire scourges, and Asof Khan was at length obliged to raise the siege, and, in revenge for his disappointment, he cruelly ravaged the fertile districts of that kingdom. Shah Jehan left the scene of action, and returned to Agra, leaving Mohabat Khan in command. This able man displayed his usual ability, and the result was that Futteh Khan was shut up in the fort of Dowlatabad, where he defended himself, with occasional assistance from the King of Bejapore. In a battle their combined forces were put to the rout. Futteh Khan surrendered, and entered into the service of Shah Jehan, and the young monarch, his *protégé*, was sent off a prisoner to Gwalior. The fate of the Deccan was apparently decided; all opposition was crushed, and the most formidable opponents of the emperor not only subdued, but attached to his interests. An opposition, which was not apprehended, now manifested itself. The King of Bejapore, deprived of all external aid, made overtures for an accommodation. These were not favourably received. He was then thrown upon his defence, and such was the effective character of his opposition, that all the efforts of Mohabat Khan were frustrated. He was recalled, and the Deccan was divided into two commands. No better success attended his successors. That portion of Hindostan was as far as ever from being subdued, and Shah Jehan saw the necessity of returning in person to make another effort for its reduction.

The King of Bejapore, during the continuance of this war, maintained his reputation, and the imperialists were frequently subjected to inconveniences and defeats by the spirit and activity of his followers. The issue was that a treaty was concluded, by the terms of which he submitted to pay £200,000 a year to Shah Jehan, and in return he received a portion of Shah Nizam's dominions, which considerably extended his own on the north and east. About this time a tribute was imposed upon the King of Golconda, and the kingdom of Ahmednuggur was extinguished.

During these commotions there appeared upon the stage a man who was destined to play no mean part in the Indian drama, this was Shahjee Bonsla, who, during the *régime* of Malik Amber, had risen into notice. After the fall of Dowlatabad, he retired into the west of the Deccan, and there so strengthened his influence, that he was enabled to place on the throne of Ahmednuggur a pretender, and to get possession of all the districts of that kingdom, from the sea to the capital. Shortly after the compromise of Adili Shah, he submitted, gave up the pretender, and with the concurrence of Shah Jehan, transferred his services to the King of Bejapore. He afterwards figures in the history of Hindostan, and his family were the founders of the kingdom of Maharatta.

While the Moguls were thus engaged in the Deccan, some transactions occurred in other parts of the empire which demand notice: among these the principal was the capture of the Portuguese fort of Hoogly, not far from Calcutta, which was taken in 1631, after a siege, by the governor of Bengal. In the chapters devoted to the mission of Francis Xavier, and to the commercial connection between India and the West, mention is made of the arrival of the Portuguese on the coast of Malabar. A short retrospect of their political progress may be necessary to the illustration of this period of Indian history.

The Portuguese, under the celebrated Vasco da Gama, as has been noticed, made their appearance in May, 1498, at the town of Calicut. In 1505, in an engagement fought at Choule, by Lorenzo, the son of Francisco de Almeyda, against the fleet of the Sultan of Egypt, the Portuguese cannon were first heard on the shores of Maharashtra. Choule then belonged to Admednuggur, and with the king of that country the Portuguese maintained a friendly intercourse for several years. On the 30th December, 1508, they entered the river Dabul, and the viceroy, Francisco de Almeyda, plundered and burnt the town. The first territory of which they possessed themselves was the important island on which now stands the town of Goa, which belonged to the kingdom of Bejapore. The Hindoo pirate Timmogee, a native of Canara, suggested to Alphonso de Albuquerque, an attack on Goa. It was surprised on the 27th of February, 1510, but was soon after recovered; again attacked, and finally conquered by Albuquerque, on the 25th November following. In 1533, the Portuguese landed on the coast, burnt all the town from Chicklee-Tarapore to Bassein, destroyed the fortifications recently erected there, and levied contributions from Tannah to Bombay. Two years afterwards they took Damaun, and obliged Sultan Bahador, of Gujerat, then hard pressed by the emperor Hoomayoon, to cede Bassein in perpetuity, to grant permission to build a fort at Diu, and to invest them with the right of levying duties on the trade with the Red Sea; in return for these privileges they assisted him against the Moguls. Their operations in Gujerat and in other quarters occupied the Portuguese for several years; but in 1548 they inflicted great havoc on the coast of Bejapore, and laid waste with fire and sword the whole of the towns from Goa to Bancote. They were solicited for their aid to depose Ibrahim Adili Shah, and to place upon his throne his brother Abdullah, who was then residing at Goa, under their protection; but the attempt was abandoned. In 1571 there was a combined attack made upon the Portuguese by the Kings of Bejapore and Ahmednuggur. Ali Adili Shah besieged Goa, and sustained a mortifying repulse. The defence of Choule, which was besieged by Mortezza Nizam Shah, and defended by Luis Ferara de Andrada, redounded greatly to the credit of the Portuguese. The Mohammedans, as is generally the case when a native army is defeated, attributed their ill-luck to treachery. Ferishta says the officers of Nizam Shah were corrupted by presents of wine. On the eastern frontier Little Thibet was reduced to submission. An army sent to reduce Srinag was defeated, and another force, which had been dispatched for the conquest of Cooch Bahar was compelled, by the severity of the climate, to abandon the country after possession had been taken of it, in 1637. In this year Candahar was recovered from the Persians through the treachery of Ali Merdan Khan, who had been exasperated by some harsh treatment from his sovereign. He rose into favour with his new master, the emperor, and obtained well-merited admiration at court by the public works which he constructed, and the canal in Delhi, which still bears his name.

The provinces of Bactria, Balk, and Badakshan, were attached to the empire, the emperor in person conducting the operations; Ali Merdan and the Rajah Sayat Singh having previously failed. This conquest was soon disturbed, and the emperor's son Aurungzebe, was sent to re-establish authority there, while his father marched with a powerful army to his support. These preparations were to no purpose, the Moguls were obliged to retreat; and though the prince with some of the troops escaped, the greater portion of the army perished, either by the inclemency of the weather in the mountains, or fell under the repeated assaults of the mountaineers. To aggravate this repulse, the recently recovered province of Candahar was rescued from their hands in 164 Three well organized expeditions were forwarded for its re-conquest; the two first under the command of Aurungzebe, and the third under his brother, Dara Sheko. The l campaign was organized at Lahore, in the winter of 1652, and the army marched in the spring of the following year, Shah Jehan himself following to Cabul. Though the siege was prosecuted with great spirit, the Moguls, after several disappointments, were forced to retreat. On their return they suffered severely from the attacks of both Persians and Affghans, and thus ended the last effort for its recovery,

This attempt was followed by two years of uninterrupted tranquillity, during which Shah Jehan endeavoured to organize the territories recently acquired by him. He united the two governments of the Deccan, and Aurungzebe was appointed viceroy. The most important result of the conquest of the Deccan was the completion of a revenue survey of the Mogul possession in that country, which occupied him nearly twenty years, and was conducted by Todar Mal, a financier, whose name is familiar to oriental readers, and whose regulations in the mint department, during the reign of Akbar, had acquired for him a character of no inconsiderable ability.* According to his scheme the land was assessed in proportion to its fertility, varying from one half to one seventh of the gross produce, according to the expense of culture or the produce. The government share was then commuted for a fixed money equivalent, and in time, when a measurement classification and registry had taken place, the regulated assessment was fixed at one fourth of the whole produce of each field throughout the year, and became the permanent rent of the land.

Aurungzebe fixed his seat of government at Khirkee, a town built by Malik Amber, which, after his own name, he called Aurungabad. The tranquillity which prevailed did not suit the temperament of this young prince. In the year 1655 he readily seized an opportunity of intermeddling in the affairs of Golconda. Since the late capitulation, Abdullah Kutb Shah had regularly paid his tribute, and manifested every disposition to secure the favour of Shah Jehan, who, on his part, had no wish to molest him. At this conjuncture Mir Joomleh was the prime-minister of the King of Golconda. He had formerly been a diamond merchant, and in that capacity was known and respected for his ability and integrity throughout the Deccan. In his recent elevation he had won the esteem of every Mohammedan prince in Hindostan. His son, Mohammed Amin, was a young man of dissolute habits, but he possessed his father's confidence. Having incurred the displeasure of his sovereign, he was punished, and the father resented this treatment. An altercation arose between him and the king, and Joomleh at length sought the protection of the emperor. His appeal was backed with all the influence of Aurungzebe. This led to the cultivation of an intimacy which essentially contributed to Aurungzebe's elevation, and served to light up a conflagration which was never effectually suppressed, and was not extinguished till it had consumed the empire.*

Shah Jehan espoused the cause of Joomleh† as ardently as Aurungzebe could have desired, and addressed a peremptory letter to the King of Golconda, who, exasperated by this interference, imprisoned the son and sequestrated the father's property. This conduct Shah Jehan resolved to punish. Aurungzebe was ordered to prepare an army, to insist on the release of Amin, to demand satisfaction for the injury done to Joomleh, and in case of refusal he was directed to invade Golconda. Without any declaration of war, Aurungzebe sent a chosen force on pretence of escorting his eldest son, Mohammed, to Bengal, whither, it was reported, he was proceeding to marry his cousin, the daughter of Sultan Shujah, and followed with the main army. The road from Aurungabad to Bengal wound round by Masulipatam, in order to escape the forests of Gundwana, and approached the city of Hyderabad, the capital of Golconda. Abdullah Shah was so far from suspecting any hostile intentions, that he was actually making preparations for the entertainment of the young prince, and was not sensible of his danger till the enemy was at his gates. He fled to the hill fort of Golconda, six or eight miles from the city. Hyderabad fell into the hands of the Moguls, the citadel was attacked, the place was plundered and half burned, the troops sent by neighbouring states to his aid were intercepted, and the king was reduced to the greatest extremities. Abdullah had, on the prince's arrival, released Amin, and restored the confiscated property. After several attempts to raise the siege by force, he was obliged to submit to very stringent terms. He was now compelled to give his daughter in marriage to Sultan Mohammed, to pay up all arrears of tribute fixed by Aurungzebe, and one million pounds as his first instalment.

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* Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 125.

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 409.

† Joomleh was a Persian, born in Ardistan, a village in the neighbourhood of Ispahan. His parents, though of some rank, were extremely poor. He, however, found means to acquire some knowledge of letters, which circumstance procured for him the place of clerk to a diamond merchant, who made frequent visits to Golconda. In that kingdom he quitted his master's service and traded on his own account, and became possessed of a considerable fortune, which enabled him to purchase a place at the court of Cuttub, sovereign of Telingana, and of a great part of Golconda. In that station he behaved so well that he attracted the notice of this prince, who raised him to the head of his forces.—Dow.

The neighbouring kingdom of Bejapore next engrossed the attention of the emperor. Since the last treaty (1636) peace had been preserved with that country; Mohammed Adili Shah had cultivated the friendship of the emperor, and had entered into close intimacy with his eldest and favourite son, Dara Sheko. This intimacy was the cause of considerable annoyance to Aurungzebe, who was secretly jealous of his brother. At this time (1656) the King of Bejapore died, and the succession devolved on his son, a young man in the nineteenth year of his age. The resources of Bejapore were considerable; the young king had a well-filled treasury, a fertile territory, and a powerful army, which at this time was very much divided, large divisions of them being employed in reducing the refractory zemindars in the Carnatic. Shah Jehan was induced by his younger son to dispute the legitimacy of the young king, and to assert his own right to nominate a successor to his tributary. Aurungzebe met with very little opposition in the reduction of the kingdom: the fort of Kallian was almost immediately reduced; Bidr, though strongly garrisoned, fell into their hands the first day of the attack, owing, it is said, to an accidental explosion of the principal magazine; Kilburga was carried by assault; and Khan Mohammed, the prime-minister and general of Bejapore, was bribed, and consequently traitorously neglected every opportunity of impeding the progress of the Moguls.

The unfortunate king was coerced to sue for peace on the most humiliating terms. This, however, was refused; Aurungzebe had determined on the complete subjugation of the kingdom, and was pressing on with great vigour the siege of the capital, when an event occurred which suddenly compelled him to change his resolve. His father was seriously ill, and his physicians apprehended that the complaint was fatal. Dara Sheko, the eldest and favourite son, was at the seat of government, and was actually invested with the administration of his father's functions. One of his first acts was to recall Joomleh, and all the principal officers serving in the Deccan. This step he was probably induced to take by his partiality towards Bejapore, as well as by his hatred of Aurungzebe, whom he dreaded. His apprehensions were well founded, that prince was inordinately ambitious, and had made himself the favourite of the Moslems by his zeal in the practice and propagation of his religion. Sheko, on the contrary, inclined to the liberalism of Akbar, and had, by the open profession of his views, offended all the zealots. Aurungzebe, by the advice of Joomleh, decided on accepting the overtures of Ali Adili Shah, from whom he received a large sum of money, and concluded a treaty by which he surrendered the advantages he had gained, and then marched to Agra, to counteract the designs of Sheko.

Shah Jehan had four sons, all of age, and aspiring to the throne. Dara Sheko was in his forty-second year; Shujah was forty, and then viceroy of Bengal; Aurungzebe was thirty-eight; and Morad, the youngest, had long been employed in important commands, and was now governor of Gujerat. Their characters were thus summed up by their father:—"Dara," he said, "had talents for command, the dignity becoming the royal office, but was intolerant of all who had any pretensions to eminence, whence he was 'good to the bad and bad to the good.' Shujah was a mere drunkard, and Morad a glutton and a sensualist; Aurungzebe excelled both in action and counsel, was well fitted to undertake the burthen of public affairs, but full of subtle suspicions, and never likely to find any one whom he could trust."[*] Each of these princes assembled an army to enforce his pretensions. Aurungzebe had information of the most secret proceedings at court from his favourite sister, Roshunara. His first act was to represent to his brother Morad that he had no ambition to undertake the care of government, and that his determination was at the earliest convenience to devote the remainder of his life to religious seclusion; that his personal safety had forced him to take up arms against their common enemy, Dara, and that he would assist to place him upon the throne. By those wily representations he induced Morad to unite his forces with his own, and in two battles which followed, the royal armies were defeated, Dara became a fugitive, and after another ineffectual effort was betrayed into the hands of Aurungzebe, and by his orders put to death. Shah Jehan unexpectedly recovered, but though he sent repeated commands to his sons to return to their governments, they, pretending to consider these commands as forgeries of Dara, did not obey. Aurungzebe got possession of the person of his father. He then imprisoned his brother Morad, gained over his army, deposed the emperor, and mounted the throne in the year

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[*] "Letter from Aurungzebe to his son, in the Dastur al Amal Agahi."

1658. He shortly after marched against his brother Shujah, defeated him, and compelled him to fly to Arracan. He was there murdered, and thus all competitors being disposed of, Aurungzebe was left in undisputed possession of the empire. Shah Jehan survived his dethronement seven years, and during that period was treated with the greatest respect. His reign was the most prosperous ever known in India, and of all its princes he was the most magnificent. "His retinue," says Elphinstone, "his state establishments, his largesses, and all the pomp of his court, were much increased beyond the excess they had attained under his predecessors. His expenses in these departments can only be palliated by the fact that neither occasioned any increase to his exactions, nor any embarrassment to his finances. The most striking instance of his pomp and his prodigality was the construction of the famous peacock throne. It took its name from a peacock with his tail spread, represented in its natural colours in sapphires, emeralds, rubies, and other appropriate jewels, which formed the chief ornament of a mass of diamonds and precious stones that dazzled every beholder. Tavernier, a jeweller by profession, reports, without apparent distrust, the common belief that it cost near six million and a half sterling."

Shah Jehan reigned thirty years with great popularity. He was sixty-seven years old when he was deposed, and seventy-four when he died.

Aurungzebe, on his accession, assumed the name of Alamgur, Lord of the Universe. As soon as all his competitors were removed out of his way, he directed his arms against the Rajah of Bekanir, who had abandoned his interests, deserted him in the Deccan, and still held out against him. He was soon reduced to submission.

Joomleh, who had remained faithful to Aurungzebe, and had rendered him essential services, now became an object of suspicion. His most recent achievement was the restoration of order in the province of Bengal, and on his return to the capital, further employment was provided for him in the conquest of Assam. This commission Joomleh executed with his usual ability and success; he marched along the course of the river Brahmapootra, subdued the small principality of Cooch Bahar, overran the territories of Assam, and took possession of Ghergong, the capital. He sent to the emperor an exulting description of his campaign, and announced his intention of opening a way into China. These anticipations were never realized; the rainy season set in, all the low country was inundated, provisions and forage were injured or destroyed, and the natives neglected no opportunity of cutting off the detachments, and thus distressed the camp. Sickness broke out amongst the troops, and though Joomleh was reinforced, he was reluctantly compelled to renounce his splendid projects, and it required the exercise of all his ability to retire without disgrace. Though far advanced in years, he shared all the hardships with the humblest soldier. He died on his return, and his son, Mohammed Amin, was raised to the dignities and honours to which his father had attained. "The death of this great man," says Bernier, "as might be expected, produced a great sensation throughout India, and it was now observed by many intelligent persons '*that* Aurungzebe was in reality King of Bengal.' Though not insensible to his obligations of gratitude, yet the Mogul was perhaps not sorry to have lost a vicegerent whose power and mental resources had excited so much pain and uneasiness. 'You mourn,' he said to Amin, 'the death of an affectionate parent, and I the loss of the most powerful and most dangerous of my friends.'"

In the fifth year after his ascent to the throne the emperor was seized with an illness which nearly proved fatal, and led to very serious disturbances. During its continuance he was frequently delirious from the violence of the fever, and his tongue became so palsied that he could scarcely articulate. It was generally believed, at one period, that he was dead. In this state of affairs his newly-established power was shaken to its foundation. It was even rumoured that the Rajah Jaswint Singh, governor of Gujerat, was on his march to release Shah Jehan from prison, and that Mohabat Khan, who had for some time disputed Aurungzebe's authority, and had but recently acknowledged it, leaving his government at Cabul, was hastening by forced marches to Agra, for the liberation of the old king. Etabar Khan, in whose custody he was placed, was equally disposed to throw open the gates of his prison. Amongst the sons of the royal invalid there were also dissensions fomented. Sultan Mausum intrigued with the Omrahs, and the Princess Rochinara had enlisted a powerful party in support of Sultan Akbar, Aurungzebe's third son, then in the eighth year of his age. To secure popularity, the partizans of each proclaimed their object to be the release of Shah Jehan. However, there was scarcely a man of influence in the empire in favour of his restoration, with the exception perhaps of Jaswint Singh and Mohabat Khan, all the rest had basely transferred their allegiance to the royal fratricide and usurper.

The severity of his illness did not destroy the interest which the reigning prince had in public affairs. He gave instructions for the conduct of the government and the safe custody of his father. He earnestly advised Sultan Mausum, in the event of his death, to release his grandfather; at the same time he was forwarding urgent despatches to Etabar to keep the strictest watch on his prisoner. On the fifth day of his illness, during the crisis of his disorder, he had himself conveyed into the council of the Omrahs, to convince them that he was still living. The same motive induced him to repeat the visit on the seventh, ninth, and tenth day. On the thirteenth day he fell into a swoon, so deep and long, that his attendants believed him dead. The report was rapidly communicated to the citizens. The king, in the interim, being informed of the currency of the rumour, and apprehending in the popular ferment the liberation of his father, he sent for some of the principal noblemen to verify his existence. Having been propped up on his couch, he called for writing materials, and forwarded a letter to Etabar, commanding him to carefully guard his captive; and he sent for the great seal, which having enclosed in a small bag, he had it impressed with a seal, and kept it carefully attached to his arm, to prevent any sinister use being made of that instrument.

The vigour of mind exhibited in this emergency, and the sage precautions which had frustrated all the projects of his enemies, and of the parties at court, had the effect of conciliating the popular feeling, and also held out the assurance of his convalescence. The intrigues which had been practised during his confinement exposed to him the real state of affairs. He now discovered that Shah Mausum, who was intended by him as his successor, had shown more anxiety to forward his own personal objects than for his recovery. His sister, who exercised great influence over Aurungzebe, and had essentially contributed to his success, was entirely devoted to the interests of her young nephew Akbar. This prince was also the favourite with the Moslem people at large, and particularly with the nobility. The mothers of his elder brothers were daughters only of Hindoo rajahs, and were looked down upon with contempt for their contamination with heathen blood. Akbar, the youngest son, was of the pure blood of the house of Tamerlane, and born of the daughter of Shah Nawaz, descended from the ancient kings of Muscat, and of the imperial house of Sefi. The Persian chiefs, many of whom were in the public service, were his supporters, and in consequence of his brothers' machinations the father's affections were enlisted in his favour, and he resolved to open the way for him to the throne. Of the family of Dara there survived an only daughter. She had, on the destruction of her family, been delivered to the care of her grandfather, and had resided with him and her aunt in Agra. An alliance with this princess would add greatly to Akbar's partizans, and also fortify his right to the throne. On his recovery Aurungzebe wrote a letter full of professions to his father, and concluded with a formal demand of the hand of his niece for his son Akbar. The proposition was rejected with disdain; and the old monarch retorted that the insolence of Aurungzebe was equal to his crimes. The young princess, fearing that force might be substituted for persuasion, concealed a poinard in her bosom, and protested her determination to die by her own hand rather than wed the son of her father's murderer. He was equally unsuccessful in an application which he made about this time for some precious stones for completing some ornamentation of the celebrated peacock's throne. "Let him govern with more justice," said Shah Jehan; "for equity and clemency are the only jewels that can adorn a throne. I am weary of his avarice. Let me hear no more of precious stones. The hammers are ready which will pulverise them should he importune me for them again."* Aurungzebe treated this answer with great coldness, and replied, "That to offend the emperor was far from being the intention of his dutiful son. Let Shah Jehan keep the jewels," said he; "nay, more—let him command all those of Aurungzebe. His amusements constitute a portion of the happiness of his son." On this occasion the father sent a portion of the jewels, accompanied by a brief note. "Take this, which I am destined to wear no more. Your fortune has prevailed, but moderation has more power than your fortune over Shah Jehan. Wear them with dignity, and make some amends to your family for their misfortunes by your own renown." Aurungzebe burst into tears: and let it be hoped his grief was sincere. The spoils of his brother Shujah on the same occasion were laid at his feet. All opposition was extinct: the fearful price had been paid; the feelings of humanity prevailed. He ordered these mournful memories from his sight, and then retired in a melancholy mood from the hall of audience.†

His treatment of his father, though kept closely confined, and every precaution adopted for his safe custody, was indulgent and respectful, as has been before noticed. He was left in possession of his own suite of apartments, and permitted to enjoy the society of his favourite daughter, and the whole of his female establishment, including the singing and dancing women, cooks, and others. Every reasonable demand was complied with; and as the old man in the decline of life had taken a religious turn, the Moollahs were permitted to visit him, and console him by reading and expounding the Koran for him. He had also the privilege of ordering whatever would serve to contribute to his amusement, and had frequently all kinds of animals, horses of state, game, and tame antelopes, brought to him. He was loaded with presents by his son, consulted as an oracle, and frequently written to in expressions of dutiful submission. These attentions had their mollifying effects; his anger and *hauteur* were at length subdued; he frequently wrote to his son on political matters; sent him Dara's daughter; and, as has been related, forwarded to him some of those precious stones which he had threatened to grind to powder.*

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* Dow's *Hindostan*, vol. iii. p. 350; Bernier's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 141.

† Dow, vol. iii. p. 350.

During these transactions, which followed immediately after the recovery of Aurungzebe, Sultan Mausum, who had forfeited by his recent effort to form a party for himself the confidence of his father, was sent into the Deccan, to assume the command of the imperial army, in 1664. On his arrival he succeeded the maharajah, on whom the government devolved during the illness of Shaista, the king's uncle, and to whose eloquence and devotion the exaltation of Aurungzebe was in a great measure due.

To understand the state of affairs in the Deccan on the advent of the prince, the new governor, it will be requisite to go farther back, and give a sketch of the history of Shaista Khan. A short time before the battle of Kigwa, when Aurungzebe quitted the capital to encounter Sultan Shujah, Shaista was sent as governor to Agra, and subsequently nominated to the Deccan, and placed in the chief command of the forces of that province. From this post he was removed, on the death of Joomleh, to the more important command of Bengal. Though succeeding to a man of such abilities and enterprise, he proved himself not unworthy of his position, and, indeed, matured a project of aggrandizement of which his predecessor had no conception.

To the east of the Bay of Bengal is situated, between the eighteenth and twenty-first degree of north latitude, the province—formerly the kingdom—of Arracan, bounded on the north by Chittagong, and separated from it by the river Naaf and the Wailli hills, on the east by a chain of mountains, which separates it from Ava, on the south by a part of Pegu, and on the west by the Bay of Bengal. Its extreme length from the pass of Kintalee to its northern extremity is about three hundred miles, and its breadth varies from ninety to fifteen miles. "Between the Kuladyne and Sundoway rivers," says Pemberton, "the whole coast consists of a labyrinth of creeks and tide-nullahs, all of which terminate at the foot of the lower ranges, and receive the contributions of numerous small streams." During many years the Portuguese had settlements on the coast, and a great number of Christian slaves and half-caste Portuguese and offscourings of Europe had thither collected. The refugees from Goa, Ceylon, Cochin, Malacca, and the other settlements planted by the Portuguese, sought shelter there; and of all this motley crew none received more cordial welcome than those who set at boldest defiance all divine and human law—those who deserted their monasteries, violated their obligations, and had married three or four wives, or had perpetrated other great crimes. They were Christians merely by name. The lives they led in Arracan were the most detestable, massacring and poisoning without compunction or remorse; and Bernier, our authority, states that their priests, *to confess the truth*, were too often not better than these criminals.*

The sovereign of Arracan gave every encouragement to these bravoes, and assigned to them the possession of the port of Chittagong and some adjacent lands. He used them as a frontier guard, to protect his territories from the aggressions of the Moguls. Thus encouraged, they acted with impunity, and their only pursuits were piracy and plunder. With their light galleys (called *galliases*) they commanded all the creeks along the coast, scoured the open seas, entered the numerous arms and canals of the Ganges, often penetrating forty or fifty leagues up the country. They frequently in these predatory expeditions surprised and carried away the entire populations of villages, on festival days, or when they had congregated for the purposes of trade or the celebration of marriage. Their captives were reduced to slavery, and the residue of the booty seized on by them, which could not be removed, was destroyed. This is the reason why, Bernier remarks, that we see so many fine islands in the mouth of the Ganges, once thickly populated, now entirely deserted by human beings, and become the desolate receptacle of tigers and other wild beasts.* The Portuguese of Goa, Ceylon, St. Thomas, and other places, purchased these wretched captives, without scruple, and the horrid and inhuman traffic was carried on at Hoogly in Bengal, and in the vicinity of the island of Galles, near Cape das Palmas. The settlement at Hoogly had been made with the permission and under the protection of Jehanghire, whose liberality has been already remarked. He also anticipated the realization of considerable commercial advantages from this establishment. The new settlers had also engaged to free the Gulf of Bengal from all depredations.

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* Bernier's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 186.

* Bernier, vol. i. p. 195.

† Ibid., p. 196.

Shah Jehan, more devoted than he to the intolerant dogmas of his creed, and, moreover, enraged by the nefarious traffic which these nominal Christians carried on with the man-stealers of Arracan, and by their having audaciously refused to emancipate their slaves at his command, inflicted on them a weighty and indiscriminate chastisement. He first exacted from them large sums of money, and then besieged and took their town, and commanded that the whole population should be transported to Agra, and there condemned to slavery. The miseries to which they were subjected is unequalled by any modern proceeding. Children, priests, and monks shared the general fate. The females of any personal attractions, whether married or single, were consigned to the seraglio. Little children were subjected to the rite of circumcision, and made pages; the adults were forced to profess Islam, under the threat of being trampled to death beneath the elephant's feet. Some time before the capture of Hoogly, a formal offer was made by the pirates of surrendering the kingdom of Arracan to the viceroy of Goa. The latter thought it inconsistent with the dignity of his sovereign to become so disreputably possessed of it. About this time, the notorious Fra Joan, an Augustine monk, became the King of Sondiva, an advantageous post commanding the mouth of the Ganges. These freebooters were a source of constant annoyance to the Mogul, and he was under the necessity of maintaining a large force to protect the inlets of the province of Bengal, but this he found insufficient. Such was the skill and daring of the pirates that, with four or five galleys, they never hesitated to attack, destroy, or capture fifteen or twenty vessels of the Mogul.

Shaista Khan had resolved on making a well-organized effort to deliver his government from this scourge; but he had another design, that was to punish the sovereign of Arracan, who was in league with the pirates, and whose daughter had been given in marriage to their celebrated and powerful chief, Bastian Consalvo, and who had, moreover, very recently put to death Sultan Shujah and his family, who, in their adversity, endeavoured to obtain a refuge in that country. Conscious of the difficulty of marching an army into the kingdom of Arracan, owing to the great number of creeks, rivers, and canals which intersect the frontiers, and the naval superiority of the pirates, Shaista, with consummate policy, sought the co-operation of the Dutch, who had a powerful settlement in Batavia. Thither he sent an envoy, with full authority to negotiate with the general commandant for the joint occupation of Arracan. This offer was agreeable to the politic views of the Dutch, who were seeking an opportunity for the further depression of the declining fortunes of the Portuguese. Two ships of war were soon dispatched for the conveyance of the Mogul troops to Chittagong. In the meantime, Shaista opened negotiations with the pirates, and so imposed on them by threats, and assurances that in Bengal they would be allowed as much land as they considered necessary, and receive double their present pay, that they embarked in fifty galleys, and unaccountably passed over to him, with so much precipitation, that they had scarcely time to take their families and valuables on board. Shaista received the infatuated traitors with every demonstration of welcome, gave them large sums of money, and afforded them hospitable accommodation in the town of Dacca. Having, by this liberality gained their confidence, the pirates rendered him effectual services. They assisted at the capture of Sondiva, which had reverted to the King of Arracan, and from that they accompanied the Mogul army to Chittagong. When, at length, the Dutch vessels of war arrived, the pirates were thanked for their kind intentions, and informed that their services were no longer required. "I saw," says Bernier, "these vessels in Bengal, and was in company with the officers, who considered the Indian's thanks a poor compensation for the violation of his engagements. In regard to the Portuguese, Shaista treats them, not perhaps as he ought, but certainly as they deserve. He has drawn them from Chittagong; they and their families are in his power; an occasion for their services no longer exists, he considers it therefore quite unnecessary to fulfil a single promise. He suffers month after month to elapse without giving them any pay; declaring that they are traitors in whom it is folly to confide—wretches who have basely betrayed the prince whose bounty they have experienced."* The defection of the pirates was followed by the reduction of Arracan. Shaista enrolled an army of ten thousand horse and foot at Dacca to the command of which he appointed his son Ameid Khan. They departed on this expedition in the beginning of the fair season, 1666, and in six days crossed the Phenny, which divides Chittagong from Bengal. The King of Arracan made merely a show of opposition, and then fled to his capital, and shut himself up in the fort. A few days after his fleet was defeated, and the capital, and then the kingdom, fell an easy prey to the victors. Ameid found twelve hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon in the fort, and a prodigious quantity of stores. He named the town Islamabad, and annexed the whole province to Bengal.

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* Bernier, vol. i. p. 203.

Though Aurungzebe was out of danger on the fifteenth day of his illness, he was greatly enfeebled, and remained in a very weak condition for nearly two months after; he was then advised by his physicians, and importuned by his favourite sister, who was anxious to visit that enchanting land, to retire to Cashmere, in order to recruit his health in its salubrious climate. While indulging in this rural retreat in the north, some events began to transpire in the Deccan, calculated to command his assiduous attention.

Maharashtra, the country of the Mahrattas, is one of the five divisions into which the central portion of India, called the Deccan, is divided. It rises from the Sautpoora Mountains in the north, and extends from Nandode on the west, along those mountains to the Wyne Gunga, east of Nagpore; its eastern boundary is formed by the bank of that river, until it falls into the Wurda; from the confluence of these rivers it may be traced up the east bank of the Wurda to Manikdroog, and thence westward to Mahoor; from this place a waving line may be extended to Goa; while on the west it is bounded by the sea. The whole tract comprises about a hundred and two thousand square miles. The great feature of the country is the mountain chain called the Siadri, or more commonly the Ghauts, which, at an average distance of thirty or forty miles from the sea, runs along the western part. It ranges from three thousand to five thousand feet, and the chief peculiarity is the contrast between the tracts which it separates. On the west it rises abruptly from the sea, and forms an almost inaccessible barrier; but on the east it supports a table-land one thousand five hundred or two thousand feet high, gradually sloping eastward, far beyond the confines of Mahratta to the Bay of Bengal. The Concan is the tract which lies between the Ghauts and the sea. It is in most parts remarkably rugged and broken, interspersed with huge mountains and thick jungles, intersected by rivers and rivulets innumerable, forming fit haunts for the wild animals who frequent those recesses.

The Ghauts and the other mountains frequently terminate in large smooth basaltic rocks, which form natural fortresses, so that in a military point of view there is not, it is asserted, a stronger country in the world. The mass of the population, which amount to about six millions, are Hindoos. The Mahrattas have never figured as a nation in Hindostan, and the early Mohammedan historians do not seem to be aware of their existence. The word itself first occurs in Ferishta, in the transactions of the year 1485. In the middle of the sixteenth century, the King of Bejapore substituted the Mahratta language, in his financial papers, for Persian. He remodelled his army, which had been previously composed of foreigners, and enrolled a large number of Mahrattas. They were at first restricted to the lowest and most laborious grades, and chiefly employed on garrison duty. It was very soon discovered that they were peculiarly qualified to act as light cavalry, and soon rose into estimation in the services of the governments of Bejapore and Ahmednuggur, a few of them were also engaged by the King of Golconda. Several rose to the rank of commanders of divisions, and military jaghires, or lands appropriated to the support of a body of troops, were conferred upon them. The Mahratta chiefs could enrol a body of horse on very short notice, and these they retained or discharged at pleasure. Titles were frequently conferred on those chieftains, chiefly Hindoos—such as rajah, naik, and rao; and though bestowed by their Moslem conquerors, they were received with avidity and gratification, the greater as they were always accompanied with donations of land to sustain their rank.* They were not originally a military tribe, like the Rajpoots, nor do they possess the same grace or dignity of person, being of diminutive stature, and irregular features; and, indeed, they bore rather the character of freebooters than of soldiers. Candeish and a part of Bahar have been claimed as the original seat of the race, while some authorities maintain that they are foreigners, and arrived in Central Hindostan from the western parts of Persia about twelve hundred years ago. Neither love of country, nor a community of language and religion, restrained them from turning their arms against one another. The most deadly hereditary feuds were perpetuated amongst them, fomented artfully by the neighbouring states, which prevented them from making common cause to assert and maintain their independence and authority, and left them to be merely the mercenary instruments of him who could afford to bid highest for their service.

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* Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. iii. p. 82.

The following portrait of the Mahrattas is faithfully and ably drawn :—"They are small, sturdy men, well made though not handsome. They are all active, laborious, hardy, and persevering. If they have none of the pride and dignity of the Rajpoots, they have none of their indolence or want of worldly wisdom. A Rajpoot warrior, as long as he does not dishonour his race, seems almost indifferent to the results of any contest in which he is engaged : a Mahratta thinks only of the results, and cares nothing about the means, provided he attains his object. For this purpose he will strain his wits, renounce his pleasures, and hazard his person, but he has not a conception of sacrificing his life or even risking his safety for a point of honour. This difference of sentiment affects the outward appearance of the two nations. There is something noble in the carriage even of an ordinary Rajpoot, and something vulgar in that of the most distinguished Mahratta. The Rajpoot is the most worthy antagonist, the Mahratta the most formidable enemy, for he will not fail in boldness and enterprise when they are indispensable, and will always support them or supply their place with activity, stratagem, and perseverance. All this applies chiefly to the soldiery, to whom more bad qualities might be fairly ascribed. The mere husbandmen are frugal, sober, and industrious, and though they have a dash of the national cunning, are neither turbulent nor insincere." * Chiefs and serfs are all sudras and of the same caste, though some ambitiously claim an infusion of Rajpoot blood.

The founder of the Mahratta state, or at least the first person who raised the country from obscurity, was Sevajee, who claimed to be descended on very apocryphal authority from the Ranahs of Odeypore. The father of Sevajee, named Shahjee Bonsla, Bhosila, or Bosla, was an officer in the service of the last of the Kings of Bejapore. The father of Shahjee was Malojee. He had acquitted himself well in the several offices to which he had been appointed, and though descended of a family of no great consideration, he rose to distinction in the service of Nizam Shah, the King of Ahmednuggur, and was attached to Jadoo Rao, who had the command of ten thousand horse in the army commanded by Malik Amber, whose exploits have been related. It was by the defection of this chief with that large contingent to Shah Jehan that the defeat of his late commander was effected. When his son Shahjee was about five years old he was a very fine child, and accompanied his father to the celebration of a festival at the house of his chief, Jadoo. Shahjee was, on this occasion, kindly noticed by the host, who good-naturedly called him, and seated him by the side of his daughter Jeejee, then only three years old. The children naturally enjoyed each other's company, and the delighted father, in the height of his joyous glee, exclaimed, "Well, girl, wilt thou take this boy as thy husband?" and turning to the company said in the same strain, "they are a fine pair." To his surprise, and that of the company, Malojee started up and said, "Take notice, friends, Jadoo has this day affianced his daughter to my son." Some assented, Jadoo was mute with astonishment. The next day Jadoo invited him to dine with him, Malojee declined unless he ratified the inadvertent contract of the previous day. This led to a rupture between the chief and his adherent. Malojee was both crafty and persevering, and was now on the high-road to fortune. His riches rapidly accumulated, and the power, which wealth can secure, was soon exercised at the court of the declining kingdom of Ahmednuggur. He was elevated to the command of five thousand, with the title of Malojee Rajah Bonsla, and two jaghires were bestowed on him for the maintenance of his dignity and force, and the forts of Seevneree and Chakun, with their dependent districts, placed in his care. His son was now a suitable match for Jeejee, and the nuptials were solemnized with the consent, and to the satisfaction, of the parents, in 1604. The offspring of this union was Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire.

During the continual wars in the Deccan, Shahjee was engaged successively on the side of Ahmednuggur and Bejapore, still retaining his jaghires. He was subsequently employed in the subjugation of the countries to the south, and obtained a much more considerable jaghire in Mysore, including the towns of Sira and Bangalore.

Sevajee was born in May, 1627, and, in the stormy times in which his infancy was cast, owed his safety on many occasions to maternal solicitude. The Mahratta chiefs of consequence invariably retain a number of Brahmins in their service, as secretaries and men of business. To one of these, Dadajee Condoo, in whom he reposed great confidence, Shahjee entrusted the guardianship of his family, and the education of his son, and sent them to reside on his jaghire at Poonah. The Mahrattas look down with

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* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 456.

contempt on scholastic attainments as unworthy of any but clerks and amanuenses. Sevajee was not an exception. He never learnt to write his name, but he acquired great dexterity in handling his arms, was a good archer and marksman, skilled in the use of the spear, and, indeed, of all the weapons of the Deccan. As a horseman, amongst his expert countrymen he had no equal. His mind was stored and fired with the marvellous exploits of the mythic heroes of Hindoo tradition. Carefully instructed in the religion of the Hindoos, he entertained a deadly hatred for the creed and followers of the Arab Prophet, and these feelings supplied the want of a more exalted patriotism. When he attained the age of sixteen his character began to develop itself—his associates were selected from the most daring and reckless; and even thus early he conceived the idea of becoming independent, and openly discussed his projects. He and his followers devoted many of their days to excursions in the mountains, and in hunting down the game that frequented their fastnesses. In these pursuits he became intimately acquainted with all the paths and defiles of the highlands, and studied the condition of the adjoining forts and strongholds. By his engaging manners, personal intrepidity and generosity, he endeared himself, not only to his playmates, but to the inhabitants of that wild tract generally. It was whispered about that he had some share in the proceeds of extensive robberies committed about this time in the Concan. Those proceedings on the part of the young chief alarmed his guardian, who, in order to engage his attention in domestic concerns, confided to him much of the management of the jaghire. This position added to his social status; he received and paid visits amongst the respectable people of his neighbourhood, and it gave him greater influence over the dependents of his own house.

The mountain range north of Poonah was inhabited by a people called the Bheels; that to the south, by the Ramusees; the valleys to the east, called the Mawals, were in the possession of the Mahrattas, who were called from that circumstance the Mawalees. With these Sevajee was extremely popular.

The hill forts under all the Mohammedan governments, particularly those of Bejapore, were greatly neglected. The reason assigned for this was, that they were remote and in an unhealthy situation. At this period they were more neglected than usual. There was not one fort on the jaghire owned by his father, and the principal fort in the district was injudiciously entrusted to the care of men of neither note nor ability. Sevajee had entered into intimate relations with three of the chiefs in the Mawals, who possessed some hereditary rights amongst the hills. These were his first avowed adherents, and with them, by some means not related, he came into the possession of Torna, a hill fort very difficult of access, twenty miles south-west of Poonah, at the source of the Neera River. This event happened in the year 1646. He succeeded in silencing any complaints at court. He prepared to put this fortress in this best state of defence, and to garrison it with a strong force of Mahrattas. While making arrangements for its repair, in digging up some ruins inside the fort, he discovered a large quantity of gold, which had been deposited in remote times. The circumstance was erased from memory probably by the destruction of the keeper in one of the many wars which distracted the country. This lucky circumstance contributed greatly to facilitate his designs; arms and ammunition in abundance were secured, and he was also induced to erect another fortress on the mountain, three miles to the south-east. This he strongly fortified and named Raighur. These energetic measures at length aroused the suspicions of the authorities; his father was communicated with, and from the Carnatic, where he was then engaged in the king's interest, he urgently remonstrated, through Dadajee, and forbade the prosecution of his undertakings. The old guardian, now on the verge of eternity, in his dying moments sent for his ambitious ward, and far from enforcing the cautious advice of his father, with all that uncalculating devotion —characteristic of the Brahmins—to his creed, he conjured him to protect the Brahmins, the kine, and the cultivators, to preserve from violation the Hindoo temples, to prosecute his plans of independence, and to follow the fortune which lay before him. Then, having recommended his family to the young chieftain's care, he expired, leaving a mysterious impression, fixed by the mournful solemnity of the occasion, and harmonizing, perfectly, with the lofty aspirations of his own enthusiasm. These dying injunctions confirmed his designs, and influenced the devotion of the subordinates of the jaghire, and possibly elevated his motives of action. To his father's applications for the payment of the arrears of revenue, after various evasions, he at length replied, "That the expenses of that poor country had so increased, that his father must depend on his more extensive and fertile possessions in the Carnatic." There were two forts in the jaghire commanded by officers devoted to his father's interests; of these it was necessary to get rid; he gained over the commander of Chakun, and surprised the garrison of Soopa. He obtained, for a large bribe to the Mohammedan killidar, possession of the very important fortress of Kondahneh, and restored to it its ancient name, Singhar, the lion's den; and availing himself of an altercation between the sons of the late governor of Poorandar, a stronger hill fort than any he had yet secured, having been called in as arbitrator, he contrived to make himself master of it, and to retain it. Notwithstanding his treachery and outrageous violation of faith in this transaction, he had the address to reconcile them to their loss, and to induce them to enter into his service, in which they afterwards arrived at some distinction. These proceedings had been conceived and executed without exciting any commotion or attracting further notice than that alluded to; indeed, the sovereign of Bejapore was at this very time engaged in the prosecution of a war in the south, and in the amplification and embellishment of his capital. Having so far strengthened himself, "and like the wily tiger of his own mountain valley, watched and crouched until he had stolen into a situation whence he could at once spring on his prey,"* Sevajee resolved to have recourse to bolder measures, and to defy the power of his sovereign. He had collected and armed a body of Mawalees, and had dispatched some of his Brahmins into the Concan to gain intelligence, and forward his views in that quarter. He shortly after, at the head of three hundred faithful followers, seized on the royal treasures in transit through that district, and conveyed them with all haste to Raighur. This overt act was followed by the surprise and occupation of five of the principal hill forts in the Ghauts. The Mohammedan governor of Concan was then seized, several rich cities plundered, and the proceeds conveyed to the same destination. Sevajee was greatly pleased by these results. He courteously entertained the captive governor, and dismissed him with every mark of respect. The conquered country was soon organized, every means provided for the restitution of the revenues to the temples and endowments to the Brahmins, and the ancient institutions were revived wherever any trace of them survived.

Shahjee was suspected of having suggested these disturbances, and in consequence was placed under arrest; he was confined in a stone dungeon, the door of which was closed with masonry, with the exception of a small opening; and he was assured that, if his son did not return to his obedience, it would be closed, and for ever. This treatment of his father, it is stated, affected Sevajee very forcibly, and he, for a time, entertained the notion of submitting, but was dissuaded from so doing by his wife, who demonstrated to him the dangers of that course. In all his proceedings he cautiously abstained from aggression on the territories or subjects of the Mogul. It is probable that he apprehended, from the beginning, that an occasion might arise, when, unable to resist the opposition of his sovereign, he should have to seek foreign succour, and that this was the cogent reason why he had refrained from provoking the enmity of the emperor. On this occasion he entered into a correspondence with Shah Jehan for his father's liberation. The results were, that the emperor agreed to forgive the former conduct of Shahjee, to receive him into his service, and to place Sevajee in the command of five thousand horse. On what terms these concessions were offered is not on record. Shahjee was released, but retained a prisoner at large for four years afterwards. During this period both parties abstained from hostilities. The probable fate of his father may have restrained Sevajee, whilst the King of Bejapore may have apprehended that any offensive step on his part might induce the surrender of the district, recently occupied, to the Mogul.

In 1653 Shahjee was permitted to return to the Carnatic, owing to the formidable disturbances which then existed in that province, but he was bound by a solemn engagement to refrain from avenging the treachery of Bajee, who, having invited him to a banquet, had sent him a prisoner to Bejapore: whatever promise of forgiveness was extorted from him on this occasion, was not very binding on his conscience, for the first exercise of his freedom was to write to Sevajee, "If you are my son, avenge me," an injunction which was treasured, and faithfully and fearfully executed. His father's release left him again at liberty to pursue the path his ambition had surveyed for him. The district south of Poonah, stretching from the Ghauts to the Upper Kistna, owned the sway of a Hindoo rajah, Chunder Rao, who was too powerful to be openly attacked, and who, though on friendly terms with Sevajee, could never be induced by him to join in any measures adverse to the interest of the King of Bejapore. On the pretence of asking his daughter in marriage, he dispatched assassins to his court, who murdered the unsuspecting prince; his territories were seized on. This crime was followed by the occupation of other forts and possessions. In 1656, he appointed a principal minister named Shamraje Punt, whom he honoured with the title of Peishwa. He had hitherto restricted his encroachments to the dominions of the King of Bejapore, but now, emboldened by success, the force at his command, and the distraction with which the empire of the Mogul was torn, he turned his arms in that direction, and persevered in extending his authority, till, as has been mentioned previously, Aurungzebe was sent down in this year, 1655, to assist Joomleh in avenging the injury inflicted upon him by the King of Bejapore, by the imprisonment of his son Amin. On the arrival of Aurungzebe, Sevajee made a profession of his fidelity to the emperor, and was sanctioned in the retention of his late acquisitions, and encouraged to take possession of Dabul and its dependencies on the sea-coast. Aurungzebe was most anxious to have an interview with Sevajee, that he might explain to him how much it would promote their mutual interest to work in harmony. With all his professions of loyalty and obedience, Sevajee cautiously avoided the meeting; and as soon as the imperial army had removed to a distance, and was involved in a war with Golconda, he concluded that a favourable opportunity was presented to himself of further aggrandizement.

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* Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. iii. p. 136.

In May, 1657, he surprised Jooner, a town in the Mogul territory, and possessed himself of a vast amount of plunder. He made an attempt on Ahmednuggur, which was only partially successful. Of these aggressions he soon repented, on being informed of the rapid progress made by Aurungzebe, and the success which attended his arms. He took the precaution to add considerably to his army, whilst he, at the same time, wrote to the Mogul prince, abjectly begging a condonation of the past, and making fervid professions of fealty for the future. It was the policy of the imperialists to provoke as many enemies as they could against the King of Bejapore. Aurungzebe, therefore, suppressed his resentment, and expressed his forgiveness of past offences; assented to Sevajee's occupying and retaining the Concan; assured him that the hereditary claims which he had to possessions within the Mogul districts should be attended to; and in return stipulated that he should send five hundred cavalry soldiers, and be prepared with the rest of his troops to maintain order and tranquillity in the imperial districts. One part of the arrangement was carried out; the Concan was occupied, and garrisons placed in several fortresses along the coast, where Sevajee afterwards collected vessels for piratical purposes. The illness of Shah Jehan precipitated an accommodation, which was followed by the departure of Aurungzebe to attend to his more immediate interests in this crisis of his father's illness. The insecurity which the reign of a boy generated in Bejapore, and the distractions created by the jarring of factions there, tempted Sevajee to a renewal of his depredations. An army was organized under the command of Afzul Khan, an officer of some reputation, to oppose his designs. On the approach of this chief, by artful negotiations, an avowal of his apprehensions from a man of such reputation, and humiliating proffers of submission, Sevajee succeeded in deceiving his adversary, and induced him to come unarmed and unattended to an interview, at which he was to receive assurances of forgiveness. Fifteen hundred of the imperial army accompanied their chief to the vicinity of the place of meeting, but in consequence of the feigned timidity of the Mahratta, did not approach his presence. Several thousands of Sevajee's troops lay in ambush in the neighbourhood. Lightly clad in thin muslin, and armed with a sword, a mark of dignity more than a weapon of defence, and attended, as pre-arranged, by one armed attendant, Afzul Khan came in his palanquin to an exposed bungalow prepared for the occasion. The Mogul first made his appearance, and while complaining of the delay, Sevajee was seen descending, apparently unarmed, to meet him. The preparations which he made for this interview, serve to show that the crime he treacherously meditated, he looked upon as a meritorious action. He performed with due care and devotion the customary ritual ablutions, and then laid his head at his mother's feet, and piously besought her blessing. Afzul Khan viewed with feelings of contempt the diminutive figure which he saw abjectly approaching, and making repeated obeisances, which were represented to be the effects of his fears. The Mogul advanced a few paces to give him the ceremonial embrace; at that moment the insidious assassin struck a treacherous weapon, called "tiger's claws"*—well known among the Mahrattas, and which he had concealed on the fingers of his left hand—into his bowels. The wounded chief quickly disengaged himself, clapped his hand on his sword, and called out "Treachery, murder!" and, at the same time, made a cut at Sevajee; but the latter had provided for such a result, having concealed under his thin cotton covering a shirt of chain armour, and with a dagger, which he carried in his right hand, he dispatched his victim. The murder was the work of a few seconds, and the dying man was at his murderer's feet before his attendant could come to his assistance. The latter was faithfully attached to his master, and though offered his life, he refused, and maintained, for some time before he fell, an unequal contest with two such swordsmen as Sevajee and his friend. The imperial army was now attacked by the Mahrattas hitherto concealed, defeated, and put to flight. The victory secured, the captives were treated with great consideration, as was the practice of Sevajee on most occasions. Several of the Mahrattas, who were in the army of Afzul Khan, entered his service, and some of the chiefs who refused to do so, having been hospitably entertained, were dismissed with presents. It is said, "that during his career, though he inflicted death and torture to force confessions of concealed treasure, he was never personally guilty of any *useless* treachery."

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* This instrument is, by the Indians, called *wagnuck*. It is made of steel to fit on the fore and little finger; it has three crooked blades, which are easily concealed in a half-closed hand.—Duff, vol. iii. p. 172. This gentleman gives, in his interesting History, a drawing of it.

The *éclat* of this bold and successful achievement, amongst a people who had no moral scruples as to the means employed to attain an end, gave to Sevajee an unbounded influence; and the liberality with which the spoils were distributed to his victorious troops attached them the more firmly to his interests, and led many to his standard. To himself, the immediate fruits of the victory were four thousand horses, several elephants, a number of camels, a considerable treasure, and the whole train of equipment of the army he had annihilated.

The results of such a decisive blow on his further career may be easily conjectured. He soon established his authority over all the country near the Ghauts, took possession of all the forts, and was engaged in the complete subjugation of the fertile district of the Concan.

The destruction of Afzul Khan and his army, the capture of the forts, and above all, the approach of Sevajee to the gates of the capital of Bejapore, created such an alarm, that even, for the time, the voice of faction was hushed. An officer, whose ability was his only recommendation, was appointed to the command of an army double the number of that recently in the field. Simultaneous attacks were to be made from two quarters on Sevajee's possession in the Concan. The Mahratta was not inactive during these preparations. He divided his army into three columns, and these were sent to operate against similar divisions of the enemy. He threw himself, with a large garrison, into the strong fort of Panalla, which had lately come into his possession, and on the defences of which he too incautiously calculated. After a protracted siege of four months, and when reduced to the greatest straits, cut off from all external communication, he eluded the besiegers, and though hotly pursued, he succeeded in reaching Rangna, a fortress in the Ghauts. The commander of the besieging army was accused of having favoured his escape. The accused indignantly resented the imputation, and withdrew from the service of his embarrassed sovereign.

The King of Bejapore in person took the field (1661) with a force which Sevajee was unable to resist. In this campaign he was stript of almost all his acquisitions, and the issue might have been disastrous had not the disturbances in the Carnatic assumed so serious an aspect as to necessitate the king's presence there. Seedee Johur, who had commanded at the siege of Panalla, and who had recently retired to his jaghire in disgust at the groundless suspicion in which he was held at court, was directed to suppress these disturbances, as the king was then resolved to prosecute the war, in which he was engaged, to a conclusion. Seedee Johur displayed no great zeal in the discharge of these duties, and was again suspected of favouring the insurgents, and of having come to an understanding with Sevajee. It then became a question with the king's advisers, on which arena was his presence most required. While in suspense, an offer was made by the chiefs of Waree to reduce Sevajee if they were properly supported. It was then decided that the king should proceed to the Carnatic. Bahlole Khan and Bajee Ghorepooray, the latter of whom, it will be remembered, in violation of the laws of hospitality, betrayed Sevajee's father into the hands of the king, and whose punishment was enjoined on the son, were left to assist the chiefs of Waree in the prosecution of their engagement.

The king had departed for his future scene of action, and Bajee Ghorepooray proceeded to his jaghire to hasten his arrangements. Sevajee, who had early intelligence of every movement in the enemy's camp, thought this a favourable opportunity for avenging his father's injuries, and performing the task imposed upon him. He marched rapidly across the country, surprised the unsuspicious noble, slew him and his family, plundered his residence and left it in flames, and then returned to his quarters with equal expedition.* The state of affairs in the Carnatic, where Seedee Johur had joined the insurgents, now demanded the presence of all the king's available forces, and the armies organized for the invasion of the Concan were necessarily called off to that quarter. For two years Sevajee was left unmolested, and during that interval he recovered his dominions, and added considerably to them.

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* Duff, vol. iii. p. 185.

The fame of his son's achievements had reached the father, he was gratified by the filial respect paid to him in the summary punishment inflicted on his enemy, and proud of his abilities, bravery, and aggrandizement. Accompanied by his son, the father paid Sevajee a visit, and was received with such demonstrations of respect and affection as must have delighted him. In the Carnatic, where the king was now engaged, Shahjee's influence was considerable, and his loyalty, in the unsettled state of that province, had restored him to royal favour. His influence was successfully exercised to bring about an accommodation. On his return he was commissioned by Sevajee to present presents to the King of Bejapore; hostilities were suspended, a peace concluded, and the territories secured by the Mahratta extended from Kallian to Goa—a length of about two hundred and fifty miles—and above the Ghauts to about a hundred and sixty. Its breadth from Soopa to Jinjeera was about a hundred miles. His army was proportionably larger than his territories; but the predatory character of his expeditions, the wealth which he accumulated, the constant apprehension of reprisals by his aggrieved neighbours, demanded that he should have an organized army of seven thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, the number of which his force is said to have consisted.*

The departure of the Emperor Aurungzebe to Cashmere, for the benefit of his health, occurred at the period in which Sevajee and the King of Bejapore entered into the treaty referred to; and this it was that allowed the former an opportunity of now directing his ambitious designs against the Mogul. The circumstances which led to this rupture are not made public by any of the historians who have treated of these events. All that is known is, that immediately after the peace with Bejapore, the Mahratta cavalry extended their incursions nearly to the walls of Aurungabad, and Sevajee himself captured the forts in the vicinity of Jooner.

Shaista Khan, the maternal uncle of the emperor, and nephew of the celebrated Nour Mahal, was sent into the Deccan to restore order. He marched out of Aurungabad, and repressed the aggressions of the Mahrattas, driving them before him until he approached within twelve miles of Singhar, the hill fort into which Sevajee had retired. Shaista Khan took possession of Poonah, and actually occupied the house in which his adversary was born. Sevajee had resolved to attempt to surprise the Mogul in his quarters, and his design was favoured by the intimate knowledge he had of the place. By the aid of the Brahmins, on whose fidelity he could rely, he won over to his side a Mahratta who was serving in that garrison. This man, on pretence of celebrating a marriage festival, obtained permission from the authorities to use, in procession, those noisy instruments usually brought into requisition on those occasions; he also got leave for some of his companions, who always carried their arms, to join in the fun. Sevajee, as had been concerted, accompanied by a chosen body, joined the revellers. When the boisterous crowd had concluded their merriment, and quiet was restored, the Mahratta chief, to whom every chamber, recess, and passage of the home of his birth and childhood was familiar, with his followers, provided with a few pickaxes, proceeded to the door of the cook-room, above which there was a window slightly built; through this a passage was opened, not, however, without alarming some of the inmates, who roused Shaista from his slumbers; while making his escape he received a blow which severed one of his fingers, his son and most of the guard at his house were slain. Sevajee and his men retired before any force was assembled. When they had proceeded three or four miles on their way back to Singhar, they lighted torches, brought for the purpose, to bewilder the enemy as to their numbers, and to manifest their defiance and derision. In the glare of these lights, with their figures in bold relief distinctly visible to their mortified foe, they exultingly ascended their mountain acclivities. Of all the exploits of this adventurous chief there is none so well remembered or related with such pride as this. On the following day the Mahratta cavalry defeated and pursued the Mogul. This, Duff observes,* is the first time that the Mogul horse were pursued by the Mahratta. This adventurous attack had alarmed Shaista. He feared that there were traitors in his camp; he suspected the Rajah Jaswint Singh of treachery, and wrote to the king expressing his opinion that he had been bought over by Sevajee. This news had just arrived as the emperor was preparing for his journey to Cashmere. In this emergency he recalled both his generals, and sent his son Sultan Mausum as viceroy to the Deccan. He afterwards appointed Jaswint Singh his second in command, and Shaista was intrusted with the government of Bengal.

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* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 470; Duff, Vol. iii. p. 190.

* Vol. iii. p. 197.

In the meantime Sevajee was making extraordinary preparations—rumour said that these were designed against the Portuguese, who had been suspected, as also had been the English colonists, of supplying his enemies with ammunition.

In his expeditions hitherto he had principally relied upon infantry, but the Mahrattas were becoming distinguished for those equestrian qualities which of all the Indians they possess in the highest degree. In the service of the King of Bejapore they were esteemed as light cavalry, and in the recent encounter with the Moguls his body of horse had come off victorious. It was in this capacity he had now resolved to employ them, and in a quarter where there was very little apprehension of their appearance.

Surat, the chief town of the British collectorate of that name, in the presidency of Bombay, is situated on the south of the river Tapty. Though a remote antiquity is claimed for it, the mention of its having been taken and plundered by the Portuguese in 1530 is probably the first authentic notice of it. In 1612 Jehanghire had granted to the English merchants permission to erect a factory there. In 1657 all the possessions of the East India Company were placed under the control of the president and council of Surat. It was the seat of considerable commerce, and held out to Sevajee the prospect of rich booty. It was against this town his preparations were being made. Early in January, 1664, with a body of four thousand horse he set out against this rich and defenceless place, and occupied the streets without opposition. For six days it was surrendered to the mercy of his troops.[*] Although he was repelled in his attacks on the English and Dutch factories, within whose fortifications several of the native merchants sought and found refuge, the plunder which fell into his hands was enormous, and it was all conveyed in safety to his fort of Raighur, in the Concan. On his return he learned the death of his father, who was killed at a hunt by a fall from his horse. Shahjee had added considerably to the jaghire originally bestowed upon him, and at his death his conquests on the south comprehended the country near Madras and the principality of Tanjore.[*] In this year, for the first time, Sevajee assumed the title and state of rajah. In the following year he renewed his attacks—which had been discontinued until the death of his father—on Bejapore, made incursions into its territories, and plundered some of its towns. He fixed these at of government at Raighur, a seaport in the Concan. He had here already equipped a fleet, formidable in those seas, and seized on many vessels belonging to the Mogul, and led in person a destructive foray into his dominions. Aurungzebe was exasperated by these outrages on his authority, together with the assumption of independent rule and regal rank by Sevajee, and the issue of money coined and stamped in his name; but what provoked him most was the outrage of his religious feelings by the capture of some pilgrims on their way to Mecca, and the violation of Surat, which the Mohammedans revere as sacred, being the port from which the pious followers of the Prophet depart for the holy places. To avenge these crimes a powerful army was dispatched, under the united command of two able and distinguished officers—Mirza Rajah Jei Singh, a Rajpoot prince, and Deeleer Khan, an Affghan. Sevajee was not as well supplied with information on this occasion as he usually was. Apprehending no immediate attack, he was absent on his maritime expedition when the imperial army crossed Nerbuddah in February, 1665. Nettagee Palkur, who had been left to watch the frontiers, was at a great distance with the larger portion of the cavalry, and it is probable that he was bribed by Jei Singh.[†] Sevajee, though he, for reasons best known to himself, continued him in the command, never forgave him.

Whether it is to be attributed to strong religious temperament, or to his deep politic dissimulation, Sevajee had recently submitted himself unreservedly to the spiritual direction of an eminent Brahmin, and practised all the austerities prescribed for his observance. He pretended, or fancied, he was the recipient of some celestial communications. It was circulated amongst his followers that he had received a mysterious warning not to contend against the Rajah Jei Singh, as he could not prevail against this Hindoo prince. Certain it is, that his policy was not marked with that decision which had supported him in former difficulties. His vacillation was evident to his officers, and though an heroic opposition was given, and with success, by some of his officers to the imperialists, he entered into negotiations with the Hindoo commander, which resulted in his surrendering the greater portion of his conquests, and transferring his services to the Mogul. The springs of human action often defy the keenest and most critical scrutiny, and the most elaborate and probable analysis of motives is at best but a plausible and unsatisfactory conjecture. "He may have looked to some recompence for the temporary sacrifice of his pride, in the advantages he might gain by co-operating with the Moguls against Bejapore." * His reception was cordial and flattering; by the great services he rendered in the succeeding campaign, the greatest confidence was established between him and his co-religionist Jei Singh, and the emperor personally communicated his approval of his conduct, and invited him to court.† In 1666, accompanied by his eldest son, Sambajee, then in the eighth year of his age, he proceeded on this invitation and the assurances of Jei Singh. He was escorted by five hundred chosen horse, and one thousand Mawalees.

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[*] The sack of Surat is minutely described in the records of the English factory, now in the East India House. In consequence of their heroic defence and generous treatment of the natives who sought their protection, Aurungzebe granted the English company exemption from the duties levied on others trading at Surat. Sir George Oxenden was then governor. (See Duff, vol. iii. p. 198; Thornton's *Gazeteer,* article "Surat.") During the pillage Sevajee respected the habitation of the Rev. Father Ambrose, the Capuchin missionary. "The Franquis-padrys are good men," said he, "and shall not be molested." He spared also the house of Delale the Dutch broker, a pagan, because he enjoyed the reputation of being charitable. The dwellings of the English and Dutch likewise escaped, not through any reverential respect for them, but because those people had resolutely defended them.—Bernier, vol. i. p. 211.

[*] Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 472.

[†] Duff, on the authority of Catrou, from Manouchi's MS., vol. iii. p. 204.

The emperor lost the opportunity afforded him of attaching to his interests a man of the courage, resolution, and abilities of the Mahratta. Aurungzebe, on his appearance at court, did not attempt to conceal his contempt for the insignificant figure before him, besides, in all probability he loathed the man whom he believed guilty of sacrilege; he always spoke of him as "the mountain rat." When Sevajee had paid his obeisance, and presented the customary emblems of submission and fealty, instead of being treated with that consideration which he was led to expect, he was received without notice, and ordered to take his place amongst an inferior grade. The sense of his humiliation so preyed on his haughty spirit he could not control his indignation, he retired to the rear of the courtiers, and swooned away. Having recovered, he withdrew without taking leave. He was then placed under surveillance.‡ From this moment he resolved to effect his escape; this was no easy task, as his house was surrounded with guards. On various pretexts he had his faithful followers dismissed to their homes; this measure he the more easily effected as the emperor thought their absence would place him more at his mercy. The wily Mahratta soon effected his escape. His son and he were conveyed through his sentinels in hampers; a servant occupied his bed, to which he had been previously confined by a pretended illness, and a considerable time elapsed ere his flight was detected. A horse was ready for him, this he mounted, with his son behind him, and escaped to Muttra. His arrival was awaited here by some of his chosen friends in various disguises. He changed his dress for that of a Hindoo mendicant, and laying aside his hair and whiskers, and rubbing his face over with ashes, he pursued his way by the least frequented road to the Deccan. He reached his home after nine months of toil and travel.

During the time of his absence a great reverse had befallen the previously successful Jei Singh. Out-generaled by the tactics of the enemy, he was obliged to abandon the

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* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 475.

† The original letters of Shah Jehan and Aurungzebe to Sevajee were in the possession of the Rajah of Sattara. Copies of them are lodged with the Literary Society of Bombay.

‡ Bernier says that the cause of Sevajee being so received was that Shaista's wife was then at court, and never ceased to urge the arrest of a man who had killed her son, wounded her husband, and sacked Surat. The son of Jei Singh, who had plighted his faith for the security of the Mahratta chief, favoured his escape. Dow gives a version of this transaction at variance with Elphinstone, Duff, and Bernier. After stating that Sevajee, being reduced to extremity, was obliged to throw himself upon the mercy of his enemy, and was then carried under escort to Delhi, he proceeds:—"Upon his arrival he was ordered into the presence, and ordered by the usher to make the usual obeisance to the emperor; he refused to obey, and looking scornfully upon Aurungzebe, exhibited every mark of complete contempt of his person. The emperor was very much offended at the haughty demeanour of the captive, and ordered him to be instantly carried away from his sight. The principal ladies of the harem, and amongst them the daughter of Aurungzebe, saw from behind a curtain the behaviour of Sevajee. She was struck with the handsomeness of his person, and she admired his pride and haughty deportment. The intrepidity of the man became the subject of much conversation. Some of the nobles interceded in his behalf, and the princess was very warm in her solicitations at the feet of her father. 'Though I despise pomp,' said Aurungzebe, 'I will have those honours which the refractory presume to refuse.' A message was sent by the princess in the warmth of her zeal, and the rajah, without being consulted, was again introduced. When he entered, and was commanded to pay the usual obeisance, 'I was born a prince,' said he, 'and I know not how to act the part of a slave.' 'But the vanquished,' replied Aurungzebe, 'lose all their rights with their fortune. The sword has made Sevajee my servant, and I am resolved to relinquish nothing of what the sword has given.' The rajah turned his back upon the throne; the emperor was enraged. He was about to issue his command against Sevajee, when that prince spoke thus with a haughty tone of voice: 'Give me your daughter in marriage, and I will honour you as her father; but fortune cannot deprive me of my dignity of mind, which nothing shall extinguish but death.' The emperor ordered him as a madman from his presence, and ordered him into close confinement. He found means to escape after some months, in the disguise of a man who was admitted into his apartments with a basket of flowers."—Dow, vol. iii. p. 368. An interesting romance this, but little more.

siege of the capital of Bejapore, and to retreat with loss and difficulty to Aurungabad. He did not long survive the consequent disgrace of his removal from his command. During his struggle and retreat Jei Singh withdrew, from the lately occupied territories—surrendered by Sevajee—the troops stationed there for its defence. Many of the forts were re-occupied by Sevajee's officers before he returned to the Deccan. Jei Singh's successor was a man of more lax principles than his predecessor, and more amenable to the influences at the Mahratta's command. Through his mediation a peace was concluded between the emperor and Sevajee, and the greater portion of his lately forfeited dominions restored to him. His title of rajah was recognized, and an indemnity for all past transgressions granted. The perils of his past life, and the dangers which he recently escaped, appear to have had no repressive effect upon the elastic temperament of Sevajee. His arrangements with the Mogul were immediately followed by an attack on both Bejapore and Golconda. These kingdoms, enfeebled by intestine contentions and apprehensive of a renewal of hostilities by the emperor, thought it advisable to avert the threatened attack by conceding to his demands, and submitting to payment of an annual tribute (1668). Two years of tranquillity succeeded, during which his dominions were governed and organized with a degree of administrative ability which prove him to be as able a statesman as he was a general. This desirable state of things was interrupted by no fault of his. His flight and escape were painfully felt by the astute emperor. The facility with which he agreed to an accommodation, and the liberality with which he confirmed his conquests to Sevajee, were not so much the result of his wish to restore what he could, at that precise period, well defend, as to throw him off his guard, and bring him within his power. He had given orders to his generals in the Deccan to seize on his person, and forward him to Delhi. Sevajee, having discovered these machinations, proved himself an able master of fence. By the magnitude of his bribes he corrupted these chiefs, and by their means he succeeded in deceiving Aurungzebe. The baseness of the imperial officers was soon suspected, and orders were forwarded from court to make an open attempt to seize "the mountain rat." The successes of the Mahratta called for a great increase in the army of the Deccan, forty thousand men were sent to its aid, under the command of one of the young princes and Mohabat Khan. Twenty thousand of these suffered a total defeat by the Mahrattas. This was the first field action won by them, and the first instance of their success in a regular engagement with the imperial troops.* The beaten generals were recalled. Operations in another quarter became of more importance, no active proceedings were taken against Sevajee, and the war languished for several years. The enemy that diverted the Moguls from active measures in the Deccan were the ever-troublesome Affghans of the north-eastern frontier. In 1667 they totally defeated, in a great battle, the son of the celebrated Joomleh, Amin, who was then governor of Cabul. The imperial army was cut to pieces, and the children and women were not restored but on the payment of an exorbitant ransom. So elated by this were the victorious clans, they set up a king and coined money in his name. This war was protracted during two years, and was concluded by the concession to the mountaineers of almost all their demands.†

This unsuccessful expedition was followed by a formidable commotion, excited by some Hindoo fanatics, who obtained the reputation of magicians, and were popularly believed to be invulnerable to shot or sword. It was by great inducement the army was led to encounter them. The defeat of the rebels proved the absurdity of their extraordinary pretensions. The naturally bigoted disposition of the emperor, irritated by this and other kindred circumstances, was so inflamed by sectarian hate, that he henceforth subjected his heathen subjects to unjust and impolitic treatment, and imposed on them a capitation tax. He had recourse to very stringent and offensive measures to suppress the trade in spirituous liquors, to shut up all the gambling houses, and to restrain the ostentatious observance of idol worship. He fanatically abolished all taxes not imposed in the spirit of Mohammedan law, and thus, not only inflicted an injustice by the inequalities produced, but actually exempted from the payment of their taxes a large number of the great capitalists of the empire, and produced a great fall in the revenue returns. He then had recourse to sumptuary laws. He issued an edict against music, dancing, and buffoons, and discharged all the singers and musicians attached to the palace; he forbade astrologers, poets, and historians. The regular records of the empire were not only suspended, but so effectually interrupted that the history of public affairs, from the eleventh year of his reign, is only to be summarily gleaned from letters on business, or from the correspondence of private individuals. Fearing that the homage paid to him bordered on adoration, he regulated the ceremonials, and abstained from appearing at the door of his palace, lest he should be a participator in the idolatry. He followed up these political blunders by issuing a public edict, commanding the governors and persons in authority in all parts of his dominions, "to entertain no more Hindoos, but to confer all the offices immediately under them on Mohammedans only."

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* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 486.

† "This war is commemorated in the poems of one of the principal actors, Khoosh Khal; he has left several poems, written to excite the national enthusiasm. They are remarkable for their high and ardent tone, and for their spirit of independence and patriotism, so unlike the usual character of Asiatics."—ELPHINSTONE.

The mischievous fruits of these measures quickly developed themselves. In the first years of his reign the loyalty and attachment of the Hindoos were as sincere as that of the Mohammedans, and exhibited neither disaffection nor hesitation, when engaged against their own people and co-religionists. The recent arrangements entirely changed the aspect of affairs: the Hindoos were now estranged from the sovereign. The Rajpoots became disaffected, and every man in the Deccan who was not a Mohammedan sympathized with Sevajee, and looked to him for protection and vengeance. With such combustible materials, it required but a spark to cause a conflagration. This the emperor soon supplied. The Rajah Jaswint Singh, whose fidelity, ability, and valour had been approved in various parts of the empire, since he had forsaken the interests of Dara, and adhered to Aurungzebe, died at this crisis in his command in Cabul, to which he had been dispatched from his government in the Deccan, to conduct the war against the Affghans. A widow and two sons survived this prince. The widow, after the funeral obsequies, set out on her return without having taken the precaution of asking for leave or passports. She was therefore stopped at the ford of Attock on the Indus. Her escort forced their passage. Aurungzebe availed himself of this act of insubordination as a pretext to get the mother and children into his possession. The Rajpoots resolved to frustrate his scheme, and though, when they had reached Delhi, they were surrounded by the imperialists, they ingeniously contrived to send safe home the rana and the young princes. The faithful Rajpoots were attacked by an overwhelming force, and though they fought with their usual bravery, and had gallantly repulsed the enemy, they lost the greater portion of their number. The remainder, with their chief, Durga Das, dispersed, and again assembling at a distant and preconcerted point, retired safely to their own country. The rana and her two sons had previously reached their destination, Joudpore, and the elder prince, Ajeet Singh, lived to reign for many years over Marwar, and became a formidable enemy to the emperor for the remainder of his life. All the western part of Rajpootana rose in arms. The emperor marched in person against the formidable conspiracy that was organized in that quarter, and to strengthen his army withdrew his forces from the Deccan and Bengal, and also ordered the viceroy of Gujerat to make an inroad from his confines. His sons Mausum and Akbar served in this campaign.

This war was prosecuted with a truculent spirit, which might have been expected from the gloomy and revolting bigotry which had provoked it. All the supplies were intercepted from the fugitives in the highlands, the plains were devastated, the villages were destroyed, the women and children were carried off, and all the severities that ruthless vengeance could inflict were exercised against the tribes. These cruelties alienated for ever the entire of the Rajpoots, who maintained an army of twenty-four thousand horse, and though not strong enough to encounter the enemy in the field, were capable of giving a great deal of annoyance by cutting off convoys, attacking detachments, defending strongholds, and gaining many advantages by surprise and night attacks.

Durga Das, who during these transactions was playing an active and efficient part, entered into private negotiations with the heir-presumptive, who he endeavoured ineffectually to seduce from his allegiance. He was more successful with the younger brother, Akbar, now only twenty-three years of age, the most impetuous and least reflective period of life. Akbar set up his standard, and was proclaimed emperor. Seventy thousand men formed the army ready to support his pretensions, and Tohavvar Khan and Majahid Khan, two very powerful noblemen, Moslems, deserted to him; the father was then left with a body of one thousand men, his army being scattered on various services. In the absence of force Aurungzebe had recourse, and with desired effect, to intrigue. The Mohammedans, to a man, returned to their duty. The Rajpoots were now left to themselves, and obliged to relinquish all hope of being able to compete with the imperialists. Durga Das remained to protect the prince, who, under his escort, with five hundred Rajpoots, sought refuge amongst the Mahrattas, and eluding pursuit by a march through the hills into Gujerat, made his way into the Concan, and arrived there in safety, June, 1681.

The war of extermination, waged by the

Moguls, provoked at length a spirit as ruthless and intolerant as their own. The exasperated Rajpoots retaliated, plundered the mosques, committed the Koran to the flames, and persecuted the religious. An insincere peace, necessitated by the aggravated state of things in the Deccan, was negotiated, which contributed but in a very small degree to the restoration of tranquillity.*

Although the withdrawal of the armies of the Deccan, in 1672, for the prosecution of the war in the north-west against the Affghans, afforded a favourable opportunity to Sevajee for the renewal of hostilities against the Mogul, he was diverted from availing himself of it by the death, at the same time, of the King of Bejapore—an event which presented a more desirable opportunity, of which he did not fail to avail himself. During the years 1673 and 1674 he obtained possession of the maritime part of the Concan, and the adjoining Ghauts; he also seized on all the southern division, except those parts which were held by the Abyssinians, Portuguese, and English; and of the districts above the Ghauts, stretching eastward beyond the upper course of the Kistna. Sevajee was again crowned, 1674, with greater solemnities than on the former occasion. To give a more national character to his rule, he changed, contrary to the Mohammedan custom, the names of all his officers of state, from the Persian to the Sanscrit, and became a more rigid observer than ever of the duties of his religion, and more scrupulously observant of those rites prescribed to caste.

Shortly after this second coronation, the Moguls made an incursion into his dominions, which they had soon cause to regret. Sevajee entered into an alliance with the King of Golconda, and after that set out to recover the jaghire which his father had held and resided on in the Carnatic, and which, up to this time, had continued in the possession of his younger brother, Vincajee. He led to this expedition an army of seventy thousand men, composed of thirty thousand horse and forty thousand foot. His ally engaged to keep the armies of the emperor and of the King of Bejapore in check. Having made this provision for security from attack in his rear, he crossed the Kistna at Karnool, then marched through Cadassa, and passing close to Madras, presented himself at the gates of Gingee, a distance of six hundred miles from his territories. At an interview, to which he invited his brother, having failed to induce him to partition his possessions between them, he soon overran and occupied the entire jaghire. While thus engaged, news reached him that the Moguls and an army from Bejapore had invaded the territories of his ally. An arrangement was made with his brother, who was to retain the possession of the jaghire by paying half the revenue to him, retaining himself the places which he had wrested from Bejapore. Ere he had reached the seat of war, peace was made with the Moguls, and Sevajee having conquered the districts of Belari and Adoni, returned to Raighur, after an absence of eighteen months, in 1678.

The Regent of Bejapore, who co-operated with the Moguls in their invasion of Golconda, died soon after; and Deeleer Khan, probably the ablest of the imperial generals, succeeded in acquiring a complete ascendancy in the councils of that kingdom. Aurungzebe, always jealous of pre-eminence and suspicious of those in authority, sent his son Mausum as viceroy to the Deccan, and retained Deeleer Khan as second in command. Deeleer renewed the war against Bejapore, and the newly-appointed regent, in his difficulties, sought the alliance and aid of the successful Mahratta. Sevajee, considering that his force was no match for the army which the Mogul could bring into the field, determined on a course of action not less injurious to the enemy, and more safe and advantageous to himself; he utterly devastated the territories of the emperor, and captured several of his strongholds. In the meantime, the enemy were besieging the capital of Bejapore, and had reduced the garrison to such straits, that Sevajee was pressingly urged to hasten to its relief: whilst on his way, the intelligence was conveyed to him, that his son Sambajee had deserted to the enemy, and was well received. He shortly after repented, and became reconciled to his father. Sevajee, by this unexpected incident, was not diverted from his original intention, and Deeleer Khan, finding his supplies cut off, was obliged to desist. In acknowledgment of his services, Sevajee was conceded the tract of country which lies between the rivers Toombudra and Kistna, and all the rights which the king had over the jaghire of Shahjee. This arrangement gave him a sovereign's rights over his brother, much to his mortification. The use which Sevajee might have made of this power is matter of conjecture, for unexpectedly and prematurely his career was ended. On the fifth of April, 1680, in the fifty-third year of his age, he was removed from the scene of his labours and the stage of his ambition.

He was succeeded by his weak, cruel, and debauched son, Sambajee, who soon dissipated the treasures accumulated by his father, and lost the attachment of his faithful, brave, and experienced chiefs. Akbar came to seek his aid. He kindly received him, but gave him no hopes of assistance. Although new taxes were imposed, the irregularity resulting from the relaxation of those fiscal enactments which the father had so judiciously imposed, deranged the revenues of the empire; and, as an inevitable consequence, "the army, whose pay was in arrear, appropriated the plunder taken in their expeditions, and degenerated, from the comparatively well regulated bands of Sevajee, into hordes of rapacious and destructive freebooters, which they have ever since remained."*

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* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 503.

In 1683 the complicated state of affairs in the Deccan influenced the emperor to visit it. One of his sons he sent to reduce the hill forts in the vicinity of the Chandor range and the Ghauts, and the other into the Concan, with orders to penetrate to the south of Sambajee's country, and to the frontiers of Bejapore. No opposition was given in the Concan, but the climate and the physical character of the country effected that which might have defied a powerful army. The invading force was composed chiefly of horse, and these were rendered useless, and eventually destroyed by the difficulties they were obliged to encounter. There were no supplies of forage and provender, nor roads; while their journey lay through rocks and jungles, all communication with the open sea was interrupted by the enemy's fleet. The toils of the march, the pernicious effects of the climate, the unusual character of the food, preyed heavily on the men; and when the advent of the rainy season compelled the army to betake itself to intrenchments, a virulent epidemic broke out, which cut off many. The contingent dispatched against the forts was also unsuccessful.

In the beginning of the next year, with the united remains of all the armies, the attack was renewed on Bejapore. The Mahrattas hung on their rear, and did incalculable injury. The army of Bejapore was ready to meet them face to face, and, thus hemmed in, the imperialists were conducted beyond the Rima.

The Moguls having been summoned to meet some danger in the south, the Mahrattas availed themselves of the opportunity to make an incursion into the territory in their rear, plundered the city of Baroche, and retired, having ravaged the adjacent district of Gujerat.

The emperor in the meantime turned his arms against the kingdom of Golconda, and after having reduced it to a humiliating state, on the payment of a large sum of money, he granted terms, and then directed his entire strength against the King of Bejapore. He captured the city, took the young king prisoner, and destroyed the monarchy (1686). The hollow peace recently entered into with Golconda was fraudulently broken now, without compunction, as soon as Aurungzebe had leisure for the completion of his designs. After a siege of seven months, bravely maintained, though the troops had deserted, Golconda fell by treachery. During this siege, Mausum incurred the displeasure of his father, and was committed to close confinement for a period of nearly seven years.

The destruction of the monarchies in the Deccan did not conduce to the establishment of a fixed and uniform rule, nor to the restoration of social order. The disbanded soldiers of both Golconda and Bejapore crowded to the standard of Sambajee, or formed themselves into predatory bands, who plundered at discretion, and laid waste the fields by their rapacity. An abhorrence of the conquerors pervaded every class of the community, and "from this motive and the new-born feeling of religious opposition, the subjects of these states were always ready to assist the enemies of the state; so that, in spite of a short gleam of prosperity after the fall of Golconda, Aurungzebe might date from that event a train of vexations and disasters which followed him to his grave."*

These transactions, and the predisposition of the natives of the neighbouring conquered kingdoms, did not incite the King of the Mahrattas to that course of action which it was his interest to pursue. The fact is, that Sambajee had ignobly sunk into a stupid state of mental imbecility, produced by a course of drunkenness and debauchery. Akbar, despairing of any aid in this quarter, retired, and repaired to Persia, where he sojourned till 1706. The Mahratta chiefs did not follow the example of their prince; they individually withstood the encroachments of the Mogul, but, in spite of their resistance, Aurungzebe was gradually attaching their territories, and was maturing arrangements for a combined and well-organized attack on their forts. The intrepidity of one of the Mogul officers placed at the mercy of the emperor the unfortunate Sambajee. This prince had retired, with some chosen convivial companions, to one of his favourite pleasure residences at Sangameswar, within fifty miles of one of the Mogul forts. The Mogul officer of this place surprised the Mahratta, who had sufficient intimation of his approach, but being in a state of beastly intoxication, he replied to the messenger by threatening him with punishment for such insulting intelligence. In the hands of his enemy he was pressed to renounce his religion, but in this extremity he manifested some of the bold spirit of his race, and protested that death was to him preferable to the abnegation of his creed. His tone to the emperor was defiant, and his abuse of the Prophet equally insulting. Aurungzebe could not forgive the blasphemy, as he opined it to be. The unfortunate prince was condemned to death, and his execution was characterized with a barbarity which was foreign to the practice of Aurungzebe. His eyes were destroyed with a hot iron, his tongue cut out, and he was then beheaded. The feeble character of this prince was forgotten in the heartfelt resentment of his people for the atrocities inflicted upon him. His infant son, Saho, under the regency of his uncle, Rajah Ram, was raised to the vacant throne. His capital was shortly after seized by the enemy. He was made captive, and his guardian and a few followers had to fly in disguise to Gingee, in the Carnatic. A system of desultory warfare was ably organized and spiritedly carried on in the territories of the Mahrattas. The imperialists were recruited chiefly from Hindostan. The Mahrattas threw themselves between the Mogul army and that country, and succeeded in intercepting several convoys, defeated more than one detachment, and soon struck terror by the disasters inflicted on the enemy. The young king was, during this time, besieged in his city of Gingee, which held out during a siege of three years. At the expiration of that period, a bold and successful effort was made by the Mahrattas for the relief of their young king. Assembling an army of twenty thousand of their best men, Santajee, Gorpara, and Danajee Jadoo, so rapidly traversed the intervening country, that they surprised the besieging army, and cut off one of its divisions, plundered its camp, and made the commander prisoner, before they could prepare resistance; they then drove in the outposts, destroyed the foragers, and cut off all supplies and intelligence from the camp; the besiegers were soon compelled to blow up their cannon, desert their batteries, and to concentrate their forces on one point, where they threw up intrenchments, and were in turn besieged. This reverse served to stimulate the energies of the Moguls. New forces were embodied, and sent to the support of the imperialists; the consequence was, that Gingee was at length taken, 1698; but Rajah Ram, who had recently assumed the title of regent, had, by the collusion of the commander—his friend—of the enemy, escaped. Rajah Ram made his way back, and had established his court at Sattara, and now assumed the active control of the whole government. He soon organized and led into the field the largest army ever yet embodied by the Mahrattas. He crossed to the north of the Godavery; levied tributes on such places as submitted, and ravaged the rest as far as Jalna in Berar. The emperor placed himself at the head of his army, and after capturing some strongholds, sat down before Sattara, which he, by a dextrous feint, succeeded in taking. Before it fell, the Rajah Ram died, and his son, Sevajee, succeeded, under the regency of his mother, Tara Bai. This event had little influence on the war. Aurungzebe, for the five following years, had taken all the principal forts from the Mahrattas. The vigour and ability displayed by the emperor, especially when his advanced years are considered, give him a claim on admiration. He was near sixty-five years old when he crossed the Nerbuddah to commence this long war, and had attained his eighty-first year before he quitted his cantonment at Beermapoora. His zeal and ability did not, however, enable him to repress the increasing disorders of the realm; the Rajpoots and the Jats were in arms, and defeats and reverses seemed to produce no prejudicial effects upon the Mahrattas. As the imperialists' arms dissolved away, the Mahrattas seemed to multiply; the plains of the Deccan were laid waste, and Malwa and Gujerat had felt the pressure of their arms; the pillaged towns, the ravaged fields, and the smoking ruins of the depopulated villages, marked the track of the fierce invaders. Aurungzebe sought a retreat in Ahmednuggur. In this town he died, on the 21st of February, 1707, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, and fiftieth of his reign. He thus partitioned his empire among his three sons: the elder, Mausum, he recommends to be recognised as emperor, and he left him the northern and eastern provinces, with Delhi for his capital; to the younger Agra, with the countries to the south and south-west of it, including the Deccan, except the kingdoms of Golconda and Bejapore, which were bequeathed to his youngest son.

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* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 514.

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 521.

The treacherous means by which he had secured the throne embittered his declining years with the deepest remorse, and all his actions show that he acutely feared a similar fate. He was suspicious of all his sons. His strong religious bias made him apprehend a merited retribution, and also impelled him to the adoption of those narrow-minded measures which estranged the great mass of his subjects, and generated those disturbances which clouded the last years of his long and eventful reign.

CHAPTER XLII.

FROM THE DEATH OF AURUNGZEBE TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE EMPIRE.

SHORTLY before the death of the Emperor Aurungzebe, his son, Azim Shah, had joined him, and was appointed to the government of Malwa. On the death of his father he, of the three surviving sons, was the nearest to the grand camp, and, in disregard of the superior claims of the elder, was proclaimed king, and his pretensions were maintained, not only by the army of the Deccan, but also by the army engaged against the Mahrattas under the command of Zoolfekar Khan.*

Prince Mausum, under the provisions of his father's will, as well as by the right of seniority, was proclaimed at Cabul, with the title of Bahador Shah. The claims of these rivals were decided in a battle fought to the south of Agra, in which Azim and two of his sons, who had attained their majority, were slain, and his younger, yet in infancy, was taken prisoner. The new emperor treated the defeated adherents of his brother with great clemency. His accession to the throne was hailed with satisfaction by the great body of his subjects, who were disgusted with the arrogance of Azim, and glad to be released from the austere sectarianism, and the expensive wars of the late emperor.

The Rajahs of Marwar and Jeypore, having received some cause of offence, withdrew conjointly from the imperial camp, and entered into a league to resist the Mogul authority. Bahador Shah felt the importance of crushing this confederacy before it was matured, and as soon as affairs were arranged in the Deccan, he proceeded to Rajasthan. On his march intelligence reached him that Sirhind had fallen into the hands of the Sikhs, and that the unsettled state of the Punjaub demanded his presence. To conciliate the rajahs previous to his advance was his first concern. In this he succeeded.

The Sikhs, whose successes diverted the emperor's course to the north, were originally a religious sect, founded by Nanik, towards the close of the fifteenth century. Nanik was a deist, and the leading tenet of his creed was universal toleration; he had no other object in view than the reconciliation of the faiths of the Mohammedans and Hindoos.† His principles are contained in the *Adi-Granth*,‡ a work written by him, and highly venerated by his disciples: "the great eminence which he obtained, and the success with which he combated the opposition with which he met, afforded ample reason to conclude that he was a man of more than common genius."* He was succeeded by his son Arjunmal, who, through the envious hostility of the Mohammedans, was persecuted, and is said by some to have died from the severities imposed upon him in his confinement, but according to others he was put to death in the most cruel manner. The Sikhs, who had till then been a quiet and inoffensive sect, looked upon his death as an atrocious murder, and, under the command of his son Har Govind, rose up in arms and fearfully avenged him, and the fiercest hatred was perpetuated between both parties. Govind is stated to have worn two swords in his girdle, and on being interrogated about this singular practice, he replied, "The one is to revenge the death of my father; the other to destroy the miracles of Mohammed." To subserve the aims of his lofty ambition, his efforts were directed to destroy those distinctions of caste which deprive the great mass of the Hindoos of those ennobling stimulants without which man must always be a degraded animal, and the absence of which was the security of the Moslems, who formed but a comparatively small section of the population. He threw open to all the lowest as well as the highest the prospect of distinction, power, and glory. The lowly Sudra, the scavenger, might aspire to the same rank as the highest caste Brahmin. He changed the name of his followers from Sikh to Singh, or lion, a title previously exclusively confined to the noble Rajpoots, the first military class of Hindoos; and thus he succeeded in making every man look upon himself as inferior to no other. Every man was a sworn soldier from the time of his initiation, was bound to carry steel in some form about his person, to wear blue clothes, allow his hair and beard to grow, and neither to clip or remove the hair on any part of his body.

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* Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 416.

† *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi. p. 206.

‡ *Granth* means book, but in the same way as Bible is applied to the volume which contains the Old and New Testaments, it is emphatically applied to this book. The book was compiled from the writings of Nanik, Anyad, Amera, Das, and Ram Das, by Arjunmal, the son of Nanik. It was enlarged and improved by his own additions and commentaries; some small portions have been subsequently added by thirteen different persons, whose number is, however, reduced to twelve and a half by the Sikh authors—the last contributor, being a woman, is admitted to rank in the list as a fraction only by these ungallant writers!—*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi. p. 212, note.

* Ibid., p. 208.

The dietary observances, imposed on Hindoo and Moslem, he abolished, with an exception—the slaughter of cows; the customary forms of worship were forbidden; new forms of salutation, and new ceremonies on all memorable occasions were substituted for the old. The habits, manners, and feelings were reformed, and new moral and physical aspects produced, which became singularities, and constituted a distinct national character. Elphinstone describes the Sikhs as tall and thin, dark for a northern people, active horsemen, and good matchlock-men. Their valour has been recently tried, and also their fidelity. They have ceased to be fanatics, and have become soldiers.*

When Bahador Shah had his attention drawn to them they were commanded by an enterprising chief, named Bandoo, who, to the ardour of a zealot, united a most sanguinary temperament and daring counsels. His path proclaimed his ruthless character. The blood of the mullahs crimsoned the smouldering ruins of temples. The young and the old, the feeble and the vigorous, were indiscriminately slaughtered, and their carcasses thrown to satiate the vulture appetites of birds and beasts. Sirhind, as has been said, was the chief arena of these atrocities, but the route of the fanatics, from the Sutlej and Jumna eastward to Seharunpore, was to be traced by similar outrages. Bahador compelled them to seek safety in the tract of country on the upper course of the Sutlej, between Loodiana and the mountains, which it appears was then their settlement. They were pursued to their haunts; Bandoo was compelled at length to seek refuge in one of the mountain forts. Here he was besieged, and all supplies being cut off, was reduced to great extremities. The last faint hope left to the besieged was the desperate chance of cutting their way through the enemy. From this and its consequences they did not shrink; they made a determined sally. Several fell in the encounter; the fort was captured. A person who distinguished himself, and was obviously directing the movements of the besieged, and cheering them on to the conflict, and appeared to be the chief, was made prisoner, and carried off in triumph, but on closer examination he was discovered to be a Hindoo convert, who thus attracted attention to facilitate the escape of Bandoo. Bahador, after achieving this success, retired to Lahore, where he died (1712), in the fifth year of his reign, and seventy-first of his age.

Jehandur Shah, not without opposition from his younger brothers, ascended the throne. He had made an alliance which was offensive to his subjects, and more especially to the nobility; he aggravated his error by bestowing places of the greatest emoluments on the relatives of his wife, who had been a dancing girl. His want of popularity emboldened his ambitious vizier to arrogate to himself much consequence and power, and to treat with haughty indifference his royal master. This prince, to ensure his own safety, according to many Indian precedents, put to death all the princes of the blood within his reach. Among those who were fortunate enough to escape was his nephew, Ferokshere, who was fortunately in Bengal when Bahador Shah died. He sought the protection of Syed Hosein Ali, the governor of Bahar, and was hospitably received. This chief and his brother, Syed Abdullah, governor of Allahabad, warmly espoused the interests of this young prince. An army was soon enrolled, and in a decisive engagement, in which the imperial forces amounted to seventy thousand men, Jehandur and his vizier were defeated. The unfortunate emperor was then delivered by his faithless minister into the hands of the conqueror. The vizier received the recompence he merited: he was strangled before he left the imperial tent, and Jehandur shared the same fate, February 4, 1713.

Ferokshere, whose preservation and success were due to the fidelity and abilities of the two Syeds, was not forgetful of what he owed to them. Abdullah was made vizier, and Hosein, Ameer al Omra* (chief of chiefs). These brothers, as the name Syed denotes, were descendants of the Prophet. This harmony was of short duration, and the emperor soon began to devise means of ruining his benefactors. Hosein was first sent to chastise the Rajah of Marwar, Ajeet Singh, whose escape from Delhi has been previously recorded. The latter was spirited on by the Mogul to an obstinate resistance. Fully apprehensive of the dangers which might be created by his prolonged absence, Hosein offered advantageous terms, and at the same time honourable to himself as to his opponent, who readily accepted them. He then returned to court. Here he soon discovered the insincerity of the king's professions, and that for him and his brother there was no security but in arms. The Syeds assembled their troops about their palaces, and refused to attend the court. They shortly after possessed themselves of the gates of the citadel, in which was the emperor's palace, and then proposed terms of reconciliation. Mir Jumlah, a mean intriguing, but far from able favourite, and detested by the Syeds, was sent from the court as governor to Bahar—Abdullah was confirmed in his office as vizier; Hosein was appointed to the important government of the Deccan, and proceeded without delay to that distant province. On his departure he threatened the king that, should any hostile proceedings be taken against his brother's authority, he should present himself in Delhi within fifteen weeks of the intelligence reaching him. Daood Khan was nominated to a command in Hosein's army. This man was renowned throughout India for his reckless courage, he was also an enemy to the Syeds, to whom he attributed the death of his friend, the late vizier. He was privately instructed to hasten to Candeish, to carry with him all the troops he could collect, and form an alliance secretly with the Mahratta chiefs, and, on the first opportunity, to compass the destruction of Hosein. The spirit of these instructions he observed, and in a short time set Hosein at open defiance, and met him in the field to decide their quarrel. The victory inclined to Daood. Hosein's troops, disconcerted and thrown into confusion by the impetuosity of the charge, fled in every direction, the person of Hosein was in imminent danger from an attack led by Daood, when a ball through the head of the latter deprived him of victory and life. Hosein concealed his cognizance of the part the emperor had in this matter (1716).

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* Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii. p. 564.

* Omrah, chiefs, is the plural of ameer or emir, chief.

During the interval which elapsed from the lately repressed movements of the Sikhs up to the present time, they had been recovering from their disaster, and maturing their strength for a renewal of the war with the Mohammedans. Bandoo had emerged from his mountain fastnesses, and having succeeded in defeating one of the imperial armies, he pillaged the country, with his usual effect. His progress was soon checked. He suffered repeated defeats from a new force that was sent against him, and eventually, with his chiefs and a great number of his followers, was made prisoner. Seven hundred and forty, with their chief, were forwarded to Delhi. Seated on camels they were paraded through the streets. In derision of their hirsute appearance, they were covered with black sheepskins, with the woolly side out; and having been subjected to the jeers and taunts of the multitude, were beheaded on seven successive days. They maintained their proud bearing to the last, and refused to barter their opinions for their lives. The fate reserved for the chief is too excruciating to be described. The reported atrocities of the late mutiny are no exaggerations of it. Those Sikhs who were still at large were hunted like wolves, and their strength so much reduced that it is only recently they recovered from the blows then inflicted.

When Hosein was at liberty, by the defeat of Daood, to turn his arms against the Mahrattas, internal dissensions raged amongst them; yet parties of them still continued to ravage the Mogul territory, and some of them seized on several of the villages, converted them into forts, and under their shelter plundered the adjoining districts, and had actually intercepted the communication by the great road from Hindostan and the Deccan to Surat. The state of affairs at Delhi demanded Hosein's presence there. He therefore conceded the most favourable terms to the Rajah Saho. By these all the territories possessed by Sevajee, together with those recently acquired, were secured to him; the forts taken from him restored, and a fourth of the revenues of all the Deccan; and further payment of one tenth on the remaining revenue. In return Saho was to pay a tribute of ten lacs of rupees, to supply fifteen thousand horse, to preserve the peace of the country, and to make good any loss occasioned by depredations, by whomsoever made.* Ferokshere indignantly refused to ratify these stipulations (1717).

Abdullah secretly urged his brother to hasten with his forces to Delhi, as his situation was becoming daily more precarious. On his arrival Hosein marched into the city, seized on the vacillating monarch, and privately put him to death.

The Syeds placed on the vacant throne a young prince of the blood, to whom they gave the title of Rafi-u-Dirjat. He died, in three months after, of consumption; and was succeeded by another youth, Rafi-u-Doula, who filled the throne for a shorter period still, and died in May, 1719.

The object which the Syeds proposed to themselves in the elevation of these princes, was to virtually retain in their own hands the sovereign authority, and to use these nominal emperors merely as instruments. They had been both educated in the recesses of the seraglio, had shared the feelings and sympathies of its inmates, and were disqualified to discharge the duties of the crown. The next selection was of a prince of a more robust constitution, and though educated like his predecessors, he had the good fortune of having for his mother a woman of no ordinary ability, and he inherited her better qualities.

Roushen Akhteo was placed on the throne (1719), and assumed the title of Mohammed Shah. The untimely deaths of the two last sovereigns subjected the Syeds to very grave suspicions, in no small degree corroborated by the well-known murder of Ferokshere; in consequence they had become odious, and their destruction was speculated on by the people. The brothers had not the prescience to foresee the coming storm, certainly they did not provide for it; they insanely quarrelled, and many of their adherents withdrew from them, and their weakness began to be felt at home and abroad. The Hindoo governor of Allahabad rebelled. Hosein proceeded against him, and he obliged him to return to his allegiance. In lieu of this government Oude was substituted. There were revolts also in Kosoor and the Punjaub, and a religious war in Cashmere, attended by the loss of several thousand lives, and the sacrifice of a considerable share of property. The aspect of affairs in the Deccan was the most serious of all: an enterprising Turk, with the imposing title of Nizam-ool-Moolk (regulator of the state), established an independent sovereignty. He and his descendants have occupied a distinguished and prominent place among the princes of India in its subsequent history. The successes which attended the arms of this prince, in his successive wars with the Syeds, was viewed with pleasure by Mohammed Shah, who was anxious to be relieved from their restraint. He defeated the imperialists, with the loss of their general, Alam Ali, the nephew of the Syeds, at the battle of Ballapore, in Berar, June, 1720. The emperor, guided by the advice of his mother, prudently refrained from giving any grounds of dissatisfaction or suspicion to the Syeds, and cautiously awaited the opportunity to assert with safety his independence. Privately a party was formed, with the concurrence of the emperor, for his liberation, the chief agents in which were Mohammed Amin Khan and Sadat Khan, originally a merchant of Khorassan, who had risen to a high military post, and was the progenitor of the royal family of Oude. The result of this was, that Hosein was assassinated in his tent, on his march to the Deccan, and the emperor assumed the government. Abdullah, who assembled a formidable army to avenge his brother's fall, was defeated, the same year, in a battle fought between Delhi and Agra, and fell himself into the hands of his enemies. His life was spared, probably in reverence for his presumed descent from the Prophet Mohammed.

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* Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 445.

The success of the emperor did not secure the peace of the country nor the stability of the throne. The inherent evils of the Mogul government were every day becoming more manifest, and furnishing daily fresh evidence of the rapid decline of that incongruous monarchy. Ajit Singh, who had been removed from his government of Gujerat, took up arms and marched on Delhi, nor was his advance stopped until his demands were conceded and secured to him, in 1721.

In the commencement of the year 1722 Asof Jah* was summoned to court to fill the office of vizier. Although a man of great abilities and promptitude, he was not able to command the confidence of his sovereign, nor the respect of his courtiers. Brought up in the austere observances of the court of Aurungzebe, his manners and dress were the sources of amusement and jest to the dissolute associates of the indolent and effeminate emperor. To remove him from attendance at the seat of government, when his presence had become odious, he was dispatched to chastise the refractory governor of Gujerat. In this mission he was eminently successful; and having reduced the province, he retained the government of it, and returned to Delhi.

Shortly after this Rajah Jei Singh was appointed governor of Agra, to avenge the murder of the deputy-governor of that province by the Jats.

The vizier did not long endure the disagreeabilities of his situation; he threw up his office, and returned to the Deccan. The emperor privately spirited on the governor of Hyderabad to make an attempt to dispossess him; his compliance eventuated in his destruction. He was defeated and slain in 1724.

During these later years the Mahrattas were perseveringly extending their territories, and wisely consolidating their power; the management of their affairs was in very able hands. Saho, the king of the Mahrattas, though placed upon the throne by the Moguls, had incurred their displeasure, and they lent the aid of their arms to his rival Samba, whom they supported from 1713 to 1716. The depressed fortunes of Saho owed their recovery to the consummate ability of his minister, Balajee Wiswanat. He rose from the condition of an accountant to the office of peishwa, the second next to the throne. This able minister obtained the ratification of a treaty from Mohammed Shah in 1720, by which, in addition to other advantages, he had the authority of Saho recognised, and his ascendancy over his rival Samba established; and before his death, which happened in this year, "he had the satisfaction of seeing his sovereign placed above the assaults of enemies either foreign or domestic." †

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* *Asof Jah* is a title commonly given to viziers; it signifies in place and rank as Asof, who they say was Solomon's vizier.—FRASER'S *Life of Nadir Shah*, p. 64, note. Second edition.

† Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 596 · Thornton, vol. i. p. 71.

This great man was succeeded by his son, Bajee Rao, a greater man still, and inferior in ability to none of his countrymen except Sevajee. Apprehending some danger by retaining at home the numerous corps of horse, so useful in war, and conscious that the establishment of a military command would insure an efficient internal government, he induced his sovereign to prepare for the invasion of the northern province. He had sagely concluded, from a consideration of the then state of the Mogul empire, that it was rotten to the core. "Let us strike," said he, "the withered trunk, and the branches will fall of themselves." And on another occasion he enthusiastically exclaimed to the rajah, "You shall plant your standard on the Himalaya." Shortly after operations were energetically commenced. He ravaged Malwa, and wrung from the Moguls a grant of the chout and *sirdesmuki*. At the close of the rainy season of 1727 he made an incursion into the territories of Asof, and marched on Boorhanpore. His course was diverted to Gujerat by the approach of Asof, now openly supported by Samba. He devastated that district with fire and sword. Samba was soon after reduced to submission (1730). He left Samba's son, still an infant, under the guardianship of his mother, on condition of the payment of half the produce through the peishwa to the government. Peelajee Geikwar, the ancestor of the present royal family of Gujerat, was left to administer his territories for the infant prince.

It may be well to mention here that, it was about this period most of the great families of the Mahrattas had their origin. When Bajee Rao marched into Malwa, the chief appointments were conferred on Udajee Porar, Malhar Rao Holkar, and Ranajee Scindiah. The first mentioned possessed a territory on the borders of Gujerat and Malwa, about Dhar, but never rose to such power as his colleagues or their descendants. Holkar was a shepherd on the Nira, south of Poonah; and Scindiah, though of a respectable family near Sattara, was in the humble position of a menial servant to the peishwa. None of them was, as was previously, usually, the case in the Mahratta army, the captain of his own followers, but held commissions from, and acting under the orders of, the peishwa.

After a long protracted contest, the peishwa and Asof Khan, convinced that it would subserve their mutual interests, entered into a compromise. In 1732 Bajee Rao entered Malwa in person, and prosecuted the war with such signal success, that, in the second year after, 1734, it was surrendered to him with the tacit consent of the emperor, from whom the territory was, nominally, held. These concessions did not satiate his ambition; he prosecuted his appropriations with increased vigour, and at length insisted on the grant of a jaghire comprising the province of Malwa, and all the country south of the Chambul, together with the sacred cities of Muttra, Allahabad, and Benares. These demands were deemed too exorbitant even by the feeble emperor, and, in all probability, led to the reconciliation between him and Asof Jah, who now began to apprehend that he had more to fear from his weakness than he had formerly from his enmity. During the negotiations which led to this understanding, Bajee Rao was not inactive, he was engaged in ravaging the country beyond the Jumna; and though he received a severe check from Sadat Khan, the governor of Oude, he adroitly managed to escape the observation of the imperial army, and suddenly quitting the neighbourhood of the Jumna, and passing fourteen miles to the right of the Moguls, by extraordinary forced marches he suddenly and unexpectedly appeared before the gates of Delhi. This rapid and alarming approach to the capital, on his own evidence, appears to have been suggested by the fame which Sadat Khan had acquired by his recent victory over him. Nothing was talked of at Delhi but the hero who had, his panegyrists asserted, driven the Mahrattas back to the Deccan. "I was resolved," says Bajee Rao, "to tell the emperor the truth, to prove to him that I was still in Hindostan, and to show him flames and Mahrattas at the gates of his capital."*

The Mahratta on this occasion acted with great moderation. On reflection, he abandoned his intention of surrendering Delhi to the pillage of his soldiers, and withdrew to a distance to deprive them of the opportunity. On his retrograde march he was ill-advisedly attacked by a body of eight thousand imperialists, whom he repelled with the loss of six hundred men. The vizier, who had been reinforced by Sadat Khan, was on his march to the relief of the capital, and Bajee Rao thought it prudent to fall back on the Deccan, where the state of public affairs demanded his presence (1737). After his retreat, Asof Jah was invested with full powers, and the governments of Malwa and Gujerat were conferred on his son. To such a low ebb was the empire, by this time, reduced, that, with the absolute powers entrusted to him, and the prestige of his name, he could press into his service not more than thirty-four thousand men. He resolved to march against the peishwa, who was at the head of eighty thousand. The imperialists were reinforced by several contingents, and were not,

* Duff's, *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 532.

numerically, inferior to their foes. Though advantageously posted, and under the protection of the strong fort of Bopal, his communications with his reserve were intercepted by the harassing attacks of the Mahrattas, and his losses were severe. To such extremities were the Moguls reduced, that Asof Jah engaged to cede the whole of the Malwa and the sovereignty of the territory between the Nerbuddah and the Chambul, to obtain a confirmation of it from the emperor, and a payment of fifty lacs of rupees to defray Bajee Rao's expenses * (1738). Asof Jah then proceeded unmolested to Delhi, and the peishwa took possession of the territories conceded to him; but before the treaty, he had entered into, could possibly have received the confirmation of the emperor, one of those unexpected visitations which, in the declining state of a distracted and effete government, cap the climax of misrule and disorder, in its overwhelming consequences absorbed all other considerations:—this was the invasion of Nadir Shah, otherwise called Thamas Khoolee Kahn, one of the most savage of the ruthless oriental conquerors.

Nadir Shah, like the founders of Rome, was originally a shepherd, he collected around him a band of freebooters, and appeared as the deliverer of his country. This occurred at the critical time when the Sophis were supplanted on the throne of Persia by the Affghans. The last prince of that dynasty was obliged to seek an asylum amongst the tribe of Kajar, on the confines of the Caspian; and the first gleam of good fortune that fell on his exile, was the adherence of this rising adventurer. As an advocate of the royal cause, he was enabled, without exciting jealousy or suspicion, to enrol an army and prepare the way for the realization of his own dreams of ambition. The ability which he displayed in his new position, the success which crowned his arms, the apparent loyalty of his proceedings and aims, appealed to the national and religious feelings of the Persians, and from a state of abject inactivity he imperceptibly, but successfully, infused into all a spirit of self-reliance, a confidence in their resources, and a passion for military glory and the re-assertion of the supremacy of Persia. The Affghans were fearlessly encountered and signally defeated, in 1729. The consequences were that Ispahan, the capital, was recovered, and the usurpers chased into Affghanistan; Ashref, who had been placed by them upon the throne, was murdered by a Belochee chief near Candahar. He then turned his arms against the Turks, who, during the wane of the power of the Sophis, had acquired large possessions in the western provinces of Persia. He had already recovered Tabreez, when he was called off by a rising in Candahar. After a siege of ten months, he took possession of Herat, and reduced the province; the Abdallees, who predominated there, and whose form of belief he embraced, were ever after the most devoted of his followers. He had now established his influence, and had attached the army, as well as the Abdallees, to his interests; he therefore determined to affect no longer to rule in his master's name. With his victorious army he marched to the plain of Moghan, and there convened an assembly of the leading men of Persia, both civil and military, to the number of one hundred thousand, and by their unanimous suffrages was proclaimed the sovereign of the kingdom (1736).

Soon after his elevation he led an army of eighty thousand men into Candahar, from which he expelled the Kiljees (1738); during this campaign he settled the greater part of the surrounding country, and his son, Reza Culi Mirza, who had marched against the Uzbecks, conquered the province of Balk, and defeated the King of Bokhara in person in an engagement on the Oxus. While Nadir Shah was thus occupied, several of the chiefs, in the decline of their fortunes, sought refuge in Hindostan, whose surrender he repeatedly demanded without any satisfactory result. This was conduct he was not disposed to tolerate; he therefore resolved to march on Ghizni and Cabul. Fraser states that he was encouraged to this invasion by letters from Nizam-ool-Moolk and Sadat Khan.* An ambassador whom he had sent to Delhi was attacked and killed, together with his escort, by the inhabitants of Jellalabad; the hesitation which he may have previously felt, was put to flight by this outrage. Furious with rage, he burst into Lahore at the head of a formidable army. Jellalabad suffered all the punishment he could inflict.† Almost unmolested he passed through the mountain district between Cabul and Peshawur, and met with nothing like opposition till he arrived on the banks of the Jumna, at a place called Kornal, within one hundred miles of Delhi, where he found himself in the face of an army led by the emperor Mohammed Shah in person, attended by the Nizam, Sadat Khan, and the principal nobility. An attempt to intercept Sadat Khan, who had arrived from his viceroyalty of Oude about the same time as Nadir Shah, brought on a partial action, which ended in a general engagement. Their close order and perfect discipline secured the victory to the Persians; Sadat Khan was taken prisoner, a vizier was mortally wounded, and thousands of the imperialists fell in the fight. The defeat was so complete that the Moguls had neither the courage nor the means to sustain further opposition. Through the treachery of Sadat Khan, whose fidelity seems to have been shaken by the frustration of his designs on the office of vizier by the superior influence of the nizam, the latter, as well as the unfortunate Mohammed, was brought into the enemy's hands, and the conqueror marched on Delhi. Nadir Shah's object seems to have been the acquisition of portable wealth, not of immovable territories; from the commencement of this invasion he professed that he was animated with pure zeal for Islam, and friendship for the emperor; that he could never have imagined the wretches (the Mahrattas) of the Deccan should impose a tribute on the dominions of the king of Mussulmen. He assured the emperor that the object of his approach was, that when the infidels moved towards Hindostan, he would be able to send his victorious army to drive them into the abyss of hell; he reminded him that history is full of instances of the friendship that had subsisted between the princes of his nation and the sovereigns of Delhi. He added a solemn oath that, excepting friendship and a concern for religion, he had no other views; and he concluded the letter here quoted with this assurance, "I always was and will be a friend to your illustrious house." The greatest order was preserved for two days after the capital had been possessed by the Persians, and commands of the most peremptory character were issued, to "spare no punishments, such as cutting off ears and noses, and bambooing to death whoever molested the Indians, for which reason neither high nor low durst injure any of the natives."* On the night of the second a report was spread that Nadir Shah was taken prisoner and poisoned. The Delhians rose *en masse*, made an attack on the detached troops of the Persians, and cut off several of them. The following morning Nadir Shah appeared in the streets, on horseback, to disabuse the people of their false impression, and to quell the mob, who were perpetrating the excesses, by the mildest means possible: while thus engaged, a musket was designedly discharged at him, and killed one of the officers who stood next to him.† His passion being thus excited, permission was given to the soldiers to kill and plunder without restraint. One wide-spread scene of butchery and pillage was presented by the capital. Both sexes were indiscriminately put to the sword; the city was fired in various quarters, and for the space of twelve hours suffered all the miseries an infuriated and avaricious soldiery could, in the vengeance of the worst passions, inflict. A little before sunset Nadir Shah forbade further destruction—such was the discipline of his army, that within a quarter of an hour all outrages had ceased, and not a Persian was to be seen in the street. The number who fell victims, on this occasion, is variously stated at 150,000, 120,000, 30,000, down to 8000; the number must have been enormous, as twenty thousand Persians were engaged in the massacre. The imperial treasures, including the celebrated peacock throne, and the entire effects of several of the nobility, fell into the hands of the plunderers.

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* Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 612.

* P. 129. This statement is not at all probable.

† Gleig's *History of India*, vol. i. p. 263.

Nadir Shah, during his stay of fifty-eight* days, exercised all the rights of a sovereign, and imposed heavy contributions upon all ranks and classes. The amount of the booty in the hands of the conquerors is calculated at thirty-two millions of our money. He reinstated Mohammed on the throne, and addressed firmans to several of the rajahs, and among the rest to Bajee Rao, informing them of this act, and that he considered Mohammed as a brother, whose commands they all should obey, and did they not, he would return with his army and inflict punishment upon them.†

During these transactions, Sadat Khan died of a cancer in the back. This circumstance contributed to the further aggrandizement of his old rival the nizam, whose son was elevated to the distinction of Ameer-ool-Omra, and one of his dependents to the post of vizier. The nizam, however, was obliged to absent himself from court, to check the presumption of his son Nazir Jung, who had asserted his independence; Nazir was overthrown and order restored.

During the Persian campaign and temporary occupation, the Mahrattas, though not immediately involved, abstained from the prosecution of their designs on the empire; nor did Bajee Rao press for the ratification of the treaty so lately completed with Asof Jah. He wisely concluded that all intestine claims should be suspended, while the general safety was threatened by so terrible an antagonist as Nadir Shah. "Our domestic quarrels," he writes, "are now insignificant, there is but one enemy in Hindostan."‡

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* Fraser, translation of a letter from Nadir Shah to Mohammed Shah, p. 138.

† Idem, p. 179.

* Craig says thirty-seven. *History of India*, vol. i. p. 266.

† Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 550.

‡ Duff, vol. i. p. 547.

"Hindoos and Mussulmans, the whole power of the Deccan must assemble." That storm having passed away, he renewed his demands, and insisted on the formal ratification of the agreement with Asof Jah. He selected the Deccan as the theatre on which he would enforce his claim. He was not attended with his usual success. He was defeated, and involved in difficulties from which he was never afterwards extricated; he, on this occasion, describes himself as overwhelmed with debts and disappointments, and thankful if he could meet death.* He was shortly rescued from his troubles in accordance with his wish. Returning to Hindostan, for what object is not told, he expired on the Nerbuddah, April 28th, 1740, and was succeeded by Belajee Rao, as peishwa. This was not effected without strong opposition from some powerful and inveterate enemies of his father, but he baffled their intrigues by the aid of his uncle, Chimnajee, who commanded a portion of the late Bajee Rao's troops. Belajee, though not possessing the abilities of his father, was not his inferior in address, and was his superior as a financier. He soon accomplished the liquidation of all monetary claims upon him, which arose principally from Bajee's embarrassments. When this was arranged, he directed his attention to the recovery of some lands in Hindostan, which had been encroached upon by his enemy and rival, Ragoojee. He crossed the Nerbuddah, but was recalled from a campaign, which he was prosecuting with singular success, by an invasion of Malwa by Damajee Geikwar from Gujerat, another enemy of his house. This expedition was made as a diversion in favour of Ragoojee, and on the approach of Belajee, the invaders speedily retired. Being now in possession of that province, and having an effective and well-appointed force at his command, and no work to do, he thought it a favourable opportunity to exact from the emperor a confirmation of the grant of that province, extorted from Asof Jah by Bajee Rao, his claims to which had remained in suspense during the Persian invasion. The occasion was favourable to the accomplishment of his requirement. Ali Verdi Khan, the viceroy of Bengal, apprehensive of the attacks of Ragoojee, and alarmed for the safety of his government, readily secured the aid of Belajee on his own terms; the grant of Malwa was confirmed, and the peishwa fulfilled his part of the agreement, by immediately marching by Allahabad and Bahar, and met the Ragoojee, approaching from the south-west, in time to save Murshidabad, the capital of the province, from attack. Ragoojee retired at his approach, but was pursued and defeated with the loss of all his baggage. Belajee was now earnestly devoted to the promotion of the emperor's interests, having recently received the payment of an assignment, granted to him by the emperor, on the revenues of Bengal. Having swept his enemies from that quarter, he returned to Malwa and thence to Sattara.

His arrival could not have been more opportune; Ragoojee, with the co-operation of his friend Damajee Geikwar, was on full march to his capital. This confederacy must have been formidable to him, judging by the enormous price which he paid to ensure its dissolution. He conceded to Ragoojee the tribute claimed by him from Bengal, Bahar, Allahabad, and Oude. This negotiation, however, was advantageous to the peishwa; the attention of his most formidable enemy was diverted from his territories to the east, where he soon found occupation enough for himself and his troops. On the side of the Deccan no annoyance was given to the Mahrattas by the Moguls. Asof Khan, after suppressing the revolt of his son, had enough of work to do in the regulation of the affairs of the subordinate government of Arcot, till his death, in 1748, at the advanced age of a hundred and four. The contentions amongst his sons, which succeeded that event, will be noticed in treating of the French and English in India.

Saho Rajah did not long survive this veteran chief. Having no children of his own, he adopted, as is the custom of the Hindoos, the Rajah of Calapore as his successor. This was an arrangement diametrically opposed to the ambitious schemes of the peishwa. Saho had become so imbecile, that, unable to act independently, he had yielded completely to the control of his wife, Sawatree Baee, who detested the peishwa, and was not only a supporter of the Rajah of Calapore's pretensions, but also closely related to him. The peishwa, to counteract these powerful influences, had recourse to a deep-laid and crafty scheme. The widow of Rajah Ram, the old rival claimant of the crown, was still living, and had for a long time spiritedly maintained the pretensions of her son, Sevajee the second, in opposition to Saho; to her Bajee had recourse, and though the old lady was far advanced in years and still retained her animosity against him and his family, her ambition was still sufficiently alive to make her embrace any measure which promised to restore her influence. Information was secretly conveyed to Saho, that a posthumous son of Sevajee was living.

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* Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 547; Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii. p. 634.

king communicated his supposed discovery to the peishwa, and suggested the prudence of instituting a strict inquiry into the matter, and, in order to sift it well, to subject Tara Baee to an examination. The evidence of Tara Báee corroborated the story; but the whole was treated as a fiction by the queen and the partizans of the Rajah of Calapore. The queen knew the extent of her power over the king, and had very little apprehension of being circumvented in this matter, as the ceremony of adoption was one which should be performed publicly. She had a man to deal with too cunning of fence for her *finesse.* The peishwa maintained that the rajah had signed an instrument transferring to him all the powers of the government, provided he maintained the royal dignity and title in the house of Sevajee, through the grandson of Tara Baee. On the death of Saho, acting on this authority, he proclaimed the grandson under the title of Ram Rajah. A council of the great chiefs confirmed this proceeding, and favours were liberally bestowed amongst them to insure their adherence. With several others, Ragoojee Bosla, Scindiah, and Holkar, were recipients of those favours to a large amount.

Sawatri Baee, the wife of Saho, was artfully induced, by an appeal to her pride, to immolate herself on the funeral pile of her husband; thus was removed out of Belajee's way an ambitious, intriguing, and dangerous enemy. The peishwa was not enabled to effect this revolution without opposition. Attempts were made at insurrection, and a quarrel provoked between him and his cousin Sedasheo Bhao. A reconciliation was at length effected. One of his first steps, when freed from the apprehended dangers of opposition, was to transfer the seat of government to Poonah, but he left the nominal king, Ram Rajah, at Sattara, in perfect freedom, under the control of Tara Baee; splendid provision was made for his maintenance.

The intrigues at court which preceded and followed the late king's death, had restrained the peishwa from availing himself of the favourable opportunities which, at this crisis, presented of extending his conquests in the Deccan, left completely exposed by the withdrawal of the armies of that province to prosecute the war in the Carnatic. The eldest son of the late Asof Jah, Gazee-ood-Deen, had opened negotiations with him for his support against his younger brother Salabat Jung, who was in possession of the family inheritance. The peishwa agreed to support his pretensions; he marched into the nizam's territories, and was in the neighbourhood of Salabat's army when intelligence, from home, reached him, of such an alarming character that he was obliged to hasten back to encounter the powerful confederacy which threatened the frustration of all his schemes of ambition.

No sooner had Belajee departed on this expedition than the old intriguante, Tara Baee, who had never ceased to entertain the bitterest enmity for him, began to plot his downfall. She first appealed to the young king, and used every persuasion to incite him to vindicate his independence, and get rid of his servant, who, she said, had actually become his master. Finding him impervious to her arguments and incentives, she began to dissimulate, in order to disarm him of his suspicions. She then applied, through her emissaries, to Damajee Geikwar, and suggested to him an immediate march to Sattara. He eagerly listened to her suggestions, led an army into the field, and avowed his intentions of rescuing the rajah and the Mahrattas from the rule of the Brahmins. On Damajee's approach, she seized on the person of the young rajah, reproached him with his pusillanimity, expressed her regret for having rescued him from ignominious obscurity, and ended by branding him as an impostor, and undertook the management of the kingdom.

The adherents of the peishwa, who were ignorant of the negotiations entered into by Tara Baee with Damajee and the march of his army, treated these proceedings as the aberrations of a mad old woman, but when the armed battalions of her ally made their appearance to enforce her authority, they appeared far more serious, and they fled precipitately from the threatened city to the village of Arla, on the banks of the Kistna, where they set up their standard. Although their forces soon reached to twenty thousand fighting men, they were defeated by an inferior number of the army of Gujerat. The character lost, in this discomfiture, was retrieved before the arrival of the peishwa, by an attack on the invaders, which succeeded in forcing them to retire to Jore Khora. In thirteen days Belajee had concluded a march of four hundred miles, and was now at hand. However, the issue was not committed to the sword. Damajee was artfully inveigled, his relatives captured, his camp treacherously stormed, and himself immersed in a dungeon in Poonah.

The defeat of her accomplice did not disarm Tara Baee. She refused to surrender the fort and the rajah, and induced every man in the garrison to bind himself by the most solemn oaths to stand by her to the last. A great majority of the Mahrattas recognising her as the rightful regent, Belajee prudently concluded that it would be politic to abstain from driving her to extremities. It is more than probable that her escape was in no small degree attributable to the invasion of the territories of the Mahrattas by Salabat Jung, whose system of warfare was conducted on their own model. Since the days of Aurungzebe, a more formidable army was not seen in that quarter. It was accompanied by a French subsidiary force of five hundred men, and of five thousand disciplined and well-appointed sepoys, under the command of M. Bussy, the most distinguished French officer, who has commanded in the far East, and to whose superior skill the Moguls are stated to have entrusted the management of the war. Belajee was no match for this able officer; defeat followed defeat; the enemy were within twenty miles of Poonah; and to aggravate this troubled state of matters, the invaders were in communication with his other enemies, Tara Baee and the Rajah of Calapore. There seemed no hope of escaping the fury of this storm but by abject submission. To a happy combination of fortuitous circumstances, he owed his almost miraculous escape. With his superior abilities, Bussy was dependant on the resources of Prince Salabat, whose finances were now in a state of derangement; the troops were in arrear, and murmuring for their pay; the dissatisfaction became general, and the army was nearly ungovernable. At the same time Ragoojee Bosla, who had previously got possession of Cuttack, and a concession, by the peishwa, of the tribute of Bengal, availing himself of the opportunity of the war raging in Maharashtra, burst into the Deccan, captured Gaweilghoor and Noornala, made himself master of Manikdroog, and the districts dependant on these forts, laid the whole country between the Payn Goonga and the Godavery under contribution, expelled the Moguls and substituted his own subjects. To repel this scourge from his door was an object of far deeper concern to Salabat Jung than the redress of others' wrongs, or the acquisition of foreign territories. An armistice was, unhesitatingly, concluded, and Salabat hastened back to his possessions (1752).

The Deccan was fated to become the busy scene of most important operations, in which the Mahrattas played no indifferent part. In order to be able to comprehend their transactions in that quarter, it is necessary to go back some years and notice events which, though secondary to these more exciting which have been recorded, are important in themselves and in their results.

On the departure of Asof Khan, in 1741, to his government of the Deccan, his eldest son, Gazee-ood-Deen, who was married to the daughter of the vizier, succeeded him in his post at court. On the death of his father, though solicitous to return to his government, permission was not granted; and it is asserted that bribes were liberally bestowed by his brothers, amongst the favourites, to ensure his detention.

It was during this period that the Rohillas had grown into power, and excited the vizier's especial jealousy, as they threatened to overrun and appropriate his possessions in Oude.

The Rohillas were an Affghan colony, which obtained possession of an extensive and fertile district of the peninsula, lying between the rivers Ganges and Goggra, bordering on Oude, Gurwal, and Kumaon, and lying between the twenty-eighth and thirtieth degree of north latitude, and the seventy-eighth and the eightieth east longitude.[*] The Ganges and its tributaries, as also the Ramgunga, after traversing the country through its whole extent, before it pours its tributary waters into the sacred river, irrigate its plains. This tract is intersected by numerous canals and reservoirs, and springs are found a foot beneath the surface. With such natural and artificial advantages, it was, under the rule of its native sovereigns, in a high state of cultivation; though, when it was ceded to the British, in 1801, by the Nabob of Oude, it was neglected and desolate, in consequence of his tyranny and exactions. Being the scene of many of the incidents of the recent mutiny and revolt, it has become better known to the English reader. It may be pertinent to state that within this district are situated the following towns: Bareilly, Bissouly, Budaon, Mooradabad, Owlah, Pillibut, Rampore, Sambul, and Jehanpore. The various remains of magnificent edifices, palaces, gardens, mosques, colleges, and mausoleums are evidences that, in former times, it was in a very flourishing condition, and of great political importance. In the decline of the Mogul power, subjected to the vicissitudes of the various armed commotions which distracted the empire, it shared the general deterioration, and in the more recent times was overrun by the restless and warlike adventurers of the tribe of Roh or Rohillas. The founders of this state were two brothers, Shah Alum and Hosein Khan, who, about the year 1673, settled in this district, and were engaged in the performance of duties of great importance by Aurungzebe. Their descendants inherited the ability, ambition, and, it may be added, good fortune of their predecessors; they extended their dominions, cultivated their lands to a high state of perfection, and liberally encouraged all those enterprises calculated to develop the resources of the country, and ruled with moderation and prudence.

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[*] Its exact limits are from lat. 27° 15′—29° 51′; and from long. 78° 3′—80° 30′.—Thornton's *Gazetteer*.

About the year 1726, two of the Rohilla chiefs, Bisharoot Khan and Daood Khan, set out as military adventurers to find employment for their arms. They entered the service of Madhoo Sah, the zemindar of Serowly, who lived by his depredations on the surrounding districts. Amongst the most daring of his banditti, these were very soon distinguished by their daring exploits. In the sack of one of the neighbouring towns, Daood Khan captured a youth of the Jat tribe, whom he converted to Mohammedanism, named Ali Mohammed; and adopted as his heir, nor was he unworthy of this distinction. As a volunteer, Ali soon joined his martial brethren, and by his feats of courage and tact, was speedily placed in command of a troop of Affghans, who were engaged in the service of the vizier, and thus employed he acquitted himself with such satisfaction that he was introduced to the notice of the emperor, who bestowed on him a jaghire, and entrusted to his command several districts. During the confusion attendant on the invasion of Nadir Shah, he so adroitly availed himself of the opportunity presented, that he established an independent state of sovereignty in Rohilcund. A power rising into such great importance, necessarily soon arrested the attention of the court of Delhi. By the vizier, Gazee-ood-Deen, whose province of Oude was conterminous with the newly-created kingdom, the danger must have been felt. He resolved to crush it before it should have acquired further extension. He thought the matter of such great moment, that he sent an army against Ali Mohammed, and publicly proclaimed that the object of the war was, not merely to enforce the payment of arrears of revenue, but to remove him altogether from his office. The latter did not quiescently await the explosion; he prepared for his defence. He met the imperialists in open conflict, he put them to flight, and amongst the slain was the chief who was named as his successor. The daring rebel was not only continued in his command, but greater powers were conferred upon him. Elated by his success, he carried his pretensions so far as to threaten the invasion and appropriation of some of the territories of Oude. The emperor was induced by Gazee-ood-Deen to take the field in person against him. After an unsuccessful resistance in the open country, Ali was obliged to seek the shelter of one of his strong forts. Reduced to extremities, on the intercession of the vizier, he received a full pardon, but the conditions were entirely in favour of the vizier, to whom, apprehensive of his proximity, it was apparently of the greatest importance to have him removed to a distance. Ali agreed to accept the government of Sirhind, a small and barren spot to the north-west of Delhi, in exchange for his own fertile province. In removing thither he merely yielded to the exigency of the occasion, and was resolved, as the issue serves to prove, to abide a favourable opportunity of effecting his restoration. Thus was the foundation laid of a power destined at no distant period to give an emperor to India, and to dispute its sovereignty with the armies of Great Britain.

At the time of these transactions another portion of the Affghans was engaged in forming a more important combination within their ancestral territories. The consequences resulting from the death of Nadir Shah, who died in 1747, were not less serious to the empire of Delhi than those which followed his invasion of that country.

Nadir Shah, eight years after evacuating India, was assassinated in his tent, at Meshed, in Khorassan. His fate was provoked by the cruelty of his proceedings. On some vague suspicions he had put out the eyes of his eldest son, and such was the intensity of his remorse, that he reproached every one who sought his mercy with having neglected to intercede for him when in danger. His conduct became so savage and capricious that he may be pronounced an enemy to his species.* "His cruelties were equalled by his extortions, and both were accompanied by threats and expressions of hatred against his subjects. These oppressions led to revolts, which drew on fresh enormities, whole cities were depopulated, and towers of heads raised to commemorate their ruin; eyes were torn out, tortures inflicted, and no man could count for a moment on his exemption from death in torments. During the two last years of his life his rage was increased by his bodily sickness, until it partook of frenzy, and until his subjects were compelled to lay plots for ridding themselves of a tyrant whose existence was incompatible with their own. In his distrust of his countrymen he had thrown himself, without reserve, on the Affghans, and took a pleasure in mortifying his old soldiers, by a marked preference for their former enemies and his own. On the day before his death, while labouring under some presentiment of evil, he leaped on his horse in the midst of his camp, and was on the point of flying from his own army to take refuge in a fortress, when his mind was somewhat calmed. After this act of madness he sent for the Affghan chiefs, appealed to their fidelity for the preservation of his life, and concluded by instructing them to disperse his Persian guards, and to seize on his principal nobles." These orders were not so secretly communicated as to escape the knowledge of the intended victims of his bloodthirsty caprice, and during the night which intervened between the instructions and the hour named, he was assassinated by some of the chiefs of his own tribe, and thus perished—"the beast, the terror, and the execration of his country." *

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* Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii. p. 652.

At the hour appointed by Nadir Shah, the Affghans, under the command of Ahmed Khan Abdalee made, as arranged, an assault on the Persians. Their immediate withdrawal to their own country shows that, though frustrated in the attempt, they had strength enough to secure their retreat to their own country, where their chief proclaimed himself king of Affghanistan, and effectively sustained his position.

Ahmed Shah Abdalee was the son of an Affghan chief, who was made prisoner at Herat, and was subsequently in the family of Nadir Shah, and by the aid of his superior abilities, rose from this humiliating grade to a high rank and reputation in the army. On the fall of his master he placed himself at the head of his countrymen, and his authority was acknowledged by many of the chiefs of his nation. On his journey homeward he fortunately fell in with a convoy of treasure, which, without scruple, he appropriated to his own purposes. In a short space of time he annexed Candahar and Cabul, and Lahore was treacherously delivered to him. These encroachments produced great terror and alarm at Delhi. The vizier, accompanied by Prince Ahmed, was sent to oppose him. An action was fought not far from the town of Sirhind, in which both sides suffered severely. The vizier was killed with a cannon-ball, and his disheartened followers took to flight, and the Affghans were thrown into great confusion by the explosion of a powder magazine, by which many lives were lost. The victory was claimed by neither. The Affghans retreated, and the imperialists did not molest by too close pursuit. Prince Ahmed returned to Delhi, but before he reached the end of his journey his father Mohammed Shah expired, in 1747, after a reign of twenty-nine years, and in the forty-ninth of his age.

The empire, which had been for some time in a state of decline, gave in this reign evidences of its approaching fall. Every day was disclosing its growing weakness. In 1738 Bengal had declared its independence, and was soon after invaded by a powerful army of Mahrattas; the Rohillas founded an independent state within eighty miles of the capital; and some of the best provinces on the east were wrested from it.

Ahmed Shah succeeded to the throne of Delhi vacated by the death of his father. The retreat, from Persia, of the Affghans to the Punjaub, and the energetic character of their young king, were the sources of much anxiety to the Moguls. Instead of fulfilling the high expectations which the capacity he displayed in the late campaign generated, the emperor ingloriously surrendered himself to the indulgence of low debauchery, and sacrificed his independence for the purpose of conciliating such allies as he thought could secure him from aggression. The office of vizier was proffered to Asof Jah, and declined on account of his great age. The old chief died very shortly after this offer had been made to him. On the rumoured approach of the Affghans, Nazir Jung, who, though the second son, had seized on the Deccan in violation of his elder brother's rights, was commanded to hasten to the assistance of the empire with all the forces which he could assemble. While these troops were on their way the court learned that there was no immediate danger to be apprehended from the Affghans, as their king was engaged in the western part of his dominions. Before Nazir Jung had yet reached the banks of the Nerbuddah he was ordered back to his province, fortunately for him, as his nephew, Muzzuffer Jung, during his absence, aided by Chunda Sahib and a body of French troops, had risen in rebellion against his authority. Safder Jung, the son of Sadat Khan, a man who had no qualification for that very important office, was viceroy of Oude; his ambition was unbounded, and to this fault in a minister was joined a greater still, the absence of all discretion.

During the confusion created by the invasion of Ahmed Abdalee, Ali Mohammed managed to escape from Sirhind, and having been well received in Rohilcund, re-established his authority though with difficulty. The first effort of the new vizier's government was directed to suppress the attempt, and this seemed the more easy of accomplishment as the Rohilla chief had recently expired, and left his authority, not yet well established, in the hands of a minor. To execute his designs he selected an Affghan of some distinction, Kaim Jung, the chief of the Bangasti tribe, and Nabob of Ferokabad. Risking an engagement under unfavourable circumstances, Kaim Jung sustained a defeat, and was left amongst

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* Père Bazin, *Lettres Edifiantes*, vol. iv. This Jesuit was his physician in the later years of his life, and gives the best account of this prince.

the slain. It would appear from the sequel that the vizier was animated by feelings of the purest selfishness in setting Affghan against Affghan, for the misfortune of his ally he turned to his own account. As soon as he learned the death of Kaim Jung he marched a force into his territories, and dispossessed the widow of the greater part of them. His treacherous conduct met with its well-merited retribution; the brother of Kaim having made terms with the Rohillas, raised an army with which he encountered the vizier, and totally routed his army. The victors in their turn became the aggressors, they invaded his territories, and with occasional reverses succeeded in penetrating to Allahabad, and defied his power, and that of the emperor. Safder Jung was driven from place to place, and eventually was obliged to seek refuge in Delhi. In this difficulty, with all his resources exhausted, he was left no hope but the humiliating one of seeking the aid of the Mahrattas. He induced, by presents and promises, Holkar, Scindiah, and the Jat prince, Sooraj Mal, to support his cause. They eagerly entered into the arrangements; Rohilcund was invaded by an overwhelming force; the Rohillas were defeated in a pitched battle, their country was laid waste, and the population were driven to the lower branches of the Himalaya for protection. Having thus accomplished his purpose by the aid of his auxiliaries, he found that it was not in his power to induce or force them to withdraw from the conquered country, he was obliged to consign to the Mahrattas, in lieu of subsidies, the greater part of it. By the ravages of these plunderers it was reduced to the state in which it was a half century afterwards found by the English.

The arms of the Mahrattas had achieved these successful results in Rohilcund, triumphing over all opposition; but in their absence, their capital in the Deccan, as has been noticed, was threatened by the advance of Salabat Khan. The peishwa, Belajee Rao, sent the most pressing letters to hasten to the Deccan. Holkar immediately marched southward, and had crossed the Ganges, when despatches from the vizier informed him that peace had been concluded in that province. Holkar wrote to the peishwa, assuring him of his readiness to submit to his orders, but in consequence of this intelligence would await further instructions.

The successes achieved in Rohilcund were overbalanced by the advantages which the Rajpoots of Ajmeer had gained by taking forcible possession of some fertile districts to which they had no legitimate claim. An attempt to expel them was ended in the defeat of the Moguls, and their expulsion with disgrace from the province. Contemporaneously with these events was the appearance in Hindostan of Ahmed Abdalee, who had recruited his army in Cabul, and having crossed the Indus, was subjugating Lahore. Mir Munnoo, the vizier's eldest son, had offered considerable resistance to the invaders, but after the loss of the bravest of his officers and several of his men, he was at length forced to submit, and to accept the government of Mooltan and Lahore under the conqueror. The vizier, in this emergency, was summoned to Delhi. On his arrival he found that these provinces had been, without consulting him, and at the instigation of a new favourite, conceded to the Affghans by the emperor, and thus the integrity of the empire was sacrificed. Had it not been for this precipitate arrangement, the vizier professed that with the aid of the Mahrattas he would have been able to expel the invaders.

Safder Khan was seriously disappointed in finding that his return did not restore his authority, and that the new favourite still continued to direct the king. He however suppressed his wounded feelings, and having invited the unsuspecting eunuch to an entertainment, had him put to death. The king was greatly offended by this undue stretch of authority, and devised means of revenging the outrage.

Allusion has been to the results which followed in his family the death of Asof Jah; how his second son Nasir Jung seized upon the Deccan. Gazee-ood-deen, the eldest, remained at the court of Delhi, and as soon as an opportunity presented itself of prosecuting his legitimate claims, he secured the support of the peishwa, and set off for the Deccan, accompanied by Holkar and Scindiah. After his arrival at Aurungabad he was attacked with a fit of illness which proved fatal. On his death his disorderly bands instantly dispersed. He left a son, a mere youth, of singular audacity, and of considerable ability, as reckless of consequences as he was regardless of principles, who, through the influence of the vizier, had been raised to the title of Gazee-ood-deen, enjoyed by his father, and appointed commander-in-chief. It was this young man who was made the instrument of accomplishing the designs of the sovereign.

The vizier saw clearly that his ruin was intended, and applied for permission to return to his government of Oude. This favour was denied. But seeing that his safety depended on his withdrawal from the power of his enemies, with a large body of armed retainers he resolved to force his way home. The emperor made preparations to intercept his march, upon which the late vizier sought the aid of one of the rajahs of the Jats, whose friendship in days past he had secured. Thus strengthened he decided on aggressive measures to set up a rival to the throne, and marching on Delhi he shut up, in the castle, the emperor and his new favourite. After a siege of six months, on the reported approach of the Mahrattas under Malhar Rao, he consented to make terms, and was secured in the possession of Oude and Allahabad.

Gazee-ood-Deen did not wish that the Mahrattas should retire without having rendered some services. He therefore marched against the Jat rajah, Sooraj Mal, the partizan of the late vizier. The latter retired within his forts, but the former pursued him into his retreat, and sought from the emperor a train of artillery for his reduction. This request was refused through the influence of the vizier Intizam-ood-Dowlah, his uncle, who owed his elevation entirely to his influence. In this step the vizier was influenced by his knowledge of the unprincipled character of his ambitious nephew, and his advice was supported by the strong political remonstrances of Sooraj Mal. An envoy was sent by Gazee-ood-Deen to press his suit, who, finding all his entreaties fruitless, seduced several of the artillery from their duty, and began to plunder the environs of the city. The emperor took the field, but was unexpectedly attacked, and no preparations had been made for defence. A few rockets were thrown into the camp, the army, in the greatest alarm fled, precipitately, in every direction, leaving to the enemy all the baggage and camp equipments. The victorious troops hastened on to the capital, and Gazee-ood-Deen obtained the office of vizier, to the exclusion of Intizam-ood-Dowlah. He next deposed the unfortunate prince, deprived him and his mother of their eyesight, cast them into prison, and raised a grandson of Jehandar Shah to the throne, by the title of Alumgeer II., in the end of May, 1754. Safder Jung soon after died, and was succeeded by his son, Soojah-ood-Dowlah.*

The condition of the empire was at this crisis most pitiable. The long continuance of intestine broils, and the gradual assumption of independence by several chiefs, had reduced it to the verge of disorganization. Those viceroys, who had not asserted their independence, considered themselves entitled to regulate their provinces as they pleased. Mooltan and Lahore were, formally, separated from the empire, the Mahrattas were in actual possession of a large portion of it, the Deccan had, to all intents and purposes, become an independent state, and the Europeans were fast rising into power.

After the appointment of Gazee-ood-Deen to the office of vizier, a longer period of tranquillity ensued than might have been expected under the administration of a man of his restless ambition. His internal government was as arbitrary as ever, and produced a military revolt, which very nearly led to his murder. He was seized by the infuriated soldiery, and, ignominiously, dragged through the streets, without his slippers or turban. In the midst of the danger he did not lose his presence of mind nor abate his arrogant tone; he reviled his assailants, and threatened that they should answer with their heads for their insolent audacity. When rescued from these indignities by the interposition of the officers, he commanded the instant massacre of the whole body of mutineers, and gave up their tents, horses, and property to plunder. Not a vestige of the corps was suffered to survive.

This dangerous revolt occurred as he was on his way to Lahore, on the pretence of celebrating his marriage with the daughter of Mir Manoo, the governor of the Punjaub, to whom he had been affianced previously to the death of his father. His present journey was influenced by other motives than those avowed. Without the slightest provocation he seized on the town, made the widow and regent prisoner in her bed, seized on all her treasures, and had them conveyed to Delhi. The injured princess broke into invectives against her faithless son-in-law, and prophesied the ruin of India, and the slaughter of its inhabitants, as the certain consequences of the vengeance of her sovereign, Ahmed Shah, whose arms had twice before been felt in the peninsula. Her forebodings were soon verified: Ahmed Shah Abdalee was enraged at this outrage on his authority, and speedily led an army across the Indus, and as he proceeded he expelled the inefficient garrisons lately placed in the forts of Lahore, and expeditiously arrived before the gates of Delhi.

In the interval, Gazee-ood-Deen had contrived to conciliate his mother-in-law, and to procure her intercession. He then presented himself to Ahmed Shah, and received pardon. But Delhi was subjected to the most cruel exactions; neither age nor sex was respected, and all were indiscriminately involved in one common ruin. The victor was not content with the plunder of the capital. The Doab was laid under heavy contributions, and the country of the Jats was pillaged to the walls of Agra. By this time the summer was far advanced, and a pestilence broke out amongst his troops, who were incapable of enduring the Indian heat; he was thus obliged to abandon the siege of Agra, and to be content with the money he had levied, and to quit Hindostan. During his stay in Delhi, he had married one of the princesses, and had contracted another to his son, Timoor Shah. The unfortunate emperor having entreated Ahmed not to commit him to the mercy of Gazee-ood-Deen, he entrusted the care of his person to Najeeb-ood-Dowlah, a Rohillah chief of ability and character. These events occurred in 1757.

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* Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. ii. p. 79.

No sooner had the Rohillas vacated the kingdom, than the vizier set Ahmed's power at defiance. He first of all secured the attachment and support of Ahmed Khan Bangash, the chief of Ferokabad, whose father had lost his life in a struggle with the Rohillas, whom he nominated to the office of commander-in-chief, of which he deprived Najeeb-ood-Dowlah; in addition he called in the aid of the Mahrattas, now in the zenith of their power.

Although Belajee had entered into terms of peace, as has been related, with Salabat Jung, 1752, this did not hinder him from establishing similar relations at a subsequent period with his elder brother and antagonist, Gazee-ood-Deen. This combination proved so powerful, that in all probability, though supported by Bussy, Salabat Jung could not have made head against the storm, had he not been rescued by the premature death of his adversary. After this occurrence, Belajee's attention was called off to the south, where he became involved in the disputes between the French and English, as will be hereafter recorded.*

Belajee's brother, Ragoba,† had distinguished himself in the subjugation of the province of Gujerat, 1755, and was sent in the following year into Malwa. It was to this chief that the vizier had now recourse, and supported by him, he advanced on Delhi, and laid siege to the fortified palace, which resisted his assaults for over a month. The Najeeb secured a safe passage to his own country—adjacent Seharunpore, to the north of Delhi, and divided by the Ganges from Rohilcund—by the payment of a large sum to Holkar; the emperor had already taken the precaution of sending his son, afterwards Shah Alum, to a place of safety, and then threw open his gates and received Gazee-ood-Deen as his vizier.

Ragoba continued for some time in the neighbourhood of the capital, till he was called away to an important and easy conquest. Although a splendid one, to it is fairly attributable the first check which the progress of the Mahrattas encountered, and from it dates their decline. Before Ahmed Shah Abdalee quitted India, 1757, he left his son Timoor in the government of the Punjaub, and appointed, as his minister and counsellor, Jehan Khan. The latter intended to avail himself of the experience and wisdom of Adina Khan Beg, a man of a turbulent and an artful character, who had been deputy to Mir Manoo. Adina Beg was pressingly invited to Lahore, the seat of government of the viceroyalty of the Punjaub, but his suspicious temperament apprehended some sinister purpose in this solicitude, and he not only declined the invitation, but also withdrew to the mountains, and was denounced as a rebel. The attempts made to arrest him he successfully resisted with the aid of the Sikhs. The presence of the Mahrattas at Delhi led him into negotiations with them. His advances in this quarter were warmly embraced by Ragoba, who marched to his assistance, and shortly after his arrival, encountered and defeated the Abdallee governor of Sirhind, overran the country, and entered Lahore as conqueror in the month of May, 1758. The government of the conquered province was confided to Adina Beg, and on his death, shortly after, a Mahratta was appointed to fill the vacancy. Previously to this Ragoba had departed for the Deccan, leaving the Punjaub in apparent security, and the influence of the Mahrattas respected and feared throughout the peninsula. Datajee Scindiah had gone in pursuit of Najeeb-ood-Dowlah, who, unable to offer resistance, left his territories a prey to the invaders, and took up a strong position at Sakertel, a defensible post on the Ganges, and successfully maintained himself there during the rainy season. He also engaged in the task of organizing a confederacy of the neighbouring princes to repel the common danger. Soojah-ood-Dowlah, although he detested the Rohillas, was induced, by the magnitude of the danger, to sacrifice his enmities, and to unite with the Najeeb, as his only chance of resisting the Mahrattas, who now, publicly, avowed that nothing, less than the complete conquest of Hindostan, would satisfy them. When Datajee Scindiah was informed of this alliance, he sent Govind Rao, with a sufficient force, to lay waste the territories of the Rohillas. This order was executed with the greatest severity, and the whole of the chiefs were compelled to seek refuge in the recesses of the Kumaon hills.

Thirteen hundred villages were plundered and destroyed in little more than a month. The wretched condition to which the inhabitants were reduced, having been conveyed to Soojah-ood-Dowlah, he marched to their relief; and having encountered the enemy, routed them with great slaughter, and drove them in great confusion across the river Jumna, in which many of them lost their lives. This was a severe defeat to Gazee-ood-Deen, but a more alarming danger was now approaching, and threatened his complete discomfiture. This was the fact that Ahmed Shah was in full march to support the Rohillas; and still further to aggravate his difficulties, it was discovered that Alumgeer was in correspondence with the enemy, and was laying schemes in co-operation with them for his destruction. Gazee-ood-Deen had recourse to very vigorous measures; he seized on the person of the unfortunate sovereign, and had him murdered; he extended a like fate to his uncle Intizam-ood-Dowlah, and he raised to the throne a son of Kaum Bukhsh, the youngest son of Aurungzebe, by the title of Shah Jehan. Shah Alum the son of the late nominal sovereign, having applied in vain for assistance to the Mahrattas, became a tool in the hands of Soojah-ood-Dowlah, and the nominal head of a confederacy against Mir Jaffier and the English, in the well-known warfare in Bengal,* the particulars of which will be hereafter supplied. After the murder of Alumgeer II., Gazee-ood-deen sought the protection of Sooraj Mal, the rajah of the Jats, who generously, but imprudently, received him into one of his forts. In this asylum he waited the issue of the coming contest between the Mahrattas and the Abdallees. The force which the Mahrattas had left in Lahore, was attacked and defeated by the Affghans before Datajee and Scindiah had timely intelligence of their approach. They had inflicted such cruelties on the natives of the country recently overran and occupied by them, that they were execrated, and intelligence was purposely intercepted. The Mahrattas, though unaided, had at this time an army composed of thirty thousand horse in the field; but, unfortunately for them, it was divided into two bodies, which were at some distance from each other. Immediately after the affair in Lahore, Ahmed Shah led his victorious troops across the Jumna. The Mahrattas, who were negotiating with the rajah of the Jats for his assistance, retreated along the west bank of that river, without making an effort for the junction of their forces.

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* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 669.

† Ragoba is the familiar name of Ragonath, or Rugonath.

Ahmed Shah, having left a portion of his troops to engage the attention of the Mahrattas in the front, assisted by the local knowledge and intrepidity of Najeeb-ood-Dowlah, unexpectedly crossed the Jumna, near Delhi, and attacked the division commanded by Datajee Scindiah in the flank. Not prepared for this vigorous attack the Mahrattas were signally defeated. One-third of their number did not escape from the field of battle, and Datajee was among the slain. Holkar, informed of this disaster, hastened towards Agra, and the country south of the Chambul. He was diverted from his direct route by the temptation of intercepting a large convoy of supplies intended for the Abdallees. In this attempt he was successful; he took or destroyed a greater portion of it, and then retired to Secunder, east of the Jumna, and south of the Chambul. He, while felicitating himself on his success and safety, was attacked by a detachment of the enemy, which had performed a most extraordinary march, and was defeated with great slaughter.

Ragoba, at the time of these reverses, was encamped on the banks of the Manjera, having concluded a treaty by which a large portion of the Deccan was conceded to him. More honour than emolument was gained by this success. The Mahrattas, who had returned from previous expeditions loaded with spoil, were embarrassed at the end of this campaign, in Bengal, by a debt of one million. The glory of the conquest did not reconcile the Mahrattas to the financial difficulty. Their disappointment was aggravated by contrast. The Peishwa's cousin Sedasheo Rao Bhao, best known in India as the Bhao, had remained at home as minister and commander-in-chief in the Deccan, he had recently obtained possession of Ahmednuggur, and was completing negotiations with Salabat Jung, by which he secured territorial and pecuniary advantages of great value, and so embarrassed the Mogul government by his impositions, that the Deccan never recovered from them. Elated by his success, he indulged in some invidious comments on the ill-success of the peishwa, and his own extraordinary good fortune. On one of these occasions, spurred on by his pride and jealousy, Ragoba retorted on his relative, and concluded by saying that "he had better undertake the next expedition, when he would find the difference between that and serving in the Deccan." Blinded by his successes, Sedasheo took him at his word. His force was a respectable one, composed of the Deccan army, amounting to about twenty thousand horse and ten thousand men, artillery and disciplined infantry, commanded by Ibrahim Khan Gardee, who had distinguished himself in the war against Salabat Jung. The equipment of this army was more splendid in appearance than that of any Mahratta force that ever entered on a campaign. The following description of it is given by Grant Duff, furnished to him by a highly respectable old Brahmin, employed in the judicial department at Sattara, who was two days in the camp:—"The equipage, which in the former expensive campaign had been brought back from Hindostan by Rugonalto Rao, was employed as part of the decoration. The lofty and spacious tents, lined with silks and broadcloths, were surmounted by large gilded ornaments, conspicuous at a great distance. Immense particoloured walls of canvas enclosed each suite of tents belonging to the principal officers. Vast numbers of elephants, flags of every description, the finest horses, magnificently caparisoned, and all those accompaniments of an Indian army which give such an imposing effect to its appearance, seemed to be collected from every quarter in the Bhao's camp. Cloth of gold was the dress of the officers; and all seemed to vie in that profuse and gorgeous display characteristic of wealth lightly acquired. It was in this instance an imitation of the more becoming and tasteful array of the magnificent Moguls in the zenith of their glory." *

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* Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas.*

The power of the Mahrattas was now at its culmination. The Indus and the range of the Himalayas formed the northern boundary of their empire, and to the south it extended nearly to the Indian Ocean. All the territories within those distant limits that were not subject to their direct rule paid them tribute; and the peishwa, who had adjusted his differences with Tara Baee, and consigned the rajah to a minister, but one in name only, governed with uncontrolled authority.

Sedasheo Bhao was accompanied by Wiswas Rao, the son and heir of the peishwa, and all the great Brahmin and Mahratta chiefs without exception. Many of the Rajpoot chiefs sent bodies of horse; and crowds of Pindarries, and irregulars of all descriptions, hastened to swell the increasing host; and Sooraj Mal, at the suggestion of Holkar, reinforced them with thirty thousand men.

Sooraj Mal, whose caution for a long time prevented his taking a part against the Affghans, advised the Bhao to disencumber himself of the unwieldy impediments to an active prosecution of the war, and to leave behind him his infantry, artillery, and heavy baggage, in the Jat country, under protection of his strong forts, and to rely on his cavalry, and to confine himself to the Mahratta practice of harassing the enemy, and protract the conflict till the Abdallees, who had already been several months in the peninsula, would be coerced to withdraw to their native homes. This Fabian counsel, though supported and enforced by the matured experience of Holkar, was rejected. The pride of the commander-in-chief, inflated by the success of his late campaign, irritated by the defeats of the two armies, and having an aversion to Holkar, which extended to his friend the Jat rajah, led him to place too much confidence in his own perceptions. He also had great reliance on Ibrahim Khan, and attached undue importance to his regular infantry and the train of artillery. He led his army towards Delhi, which was held by a small garrison of the Abdallees and their partizans, who had occupied it when it was abandoned by Gazee-ood-Deen. The Mahrattas obtained easy possession. Contrary to the remonstrances of many of the principal chiefs, Sedasheo seized on the gold and silver ornaments of the hall of audience, destroyed the throne, plundered the palaces, shrines, and tombs, which had been spared by the Persians and Affghans, and was inclined to proclaim Wiswas Rao Emperor of India, and to make Soojah-ood-Dowlah his vizier. Though the remonstrances against this latter act did not induce him to abandon the idea, it prevailed upon him to postpone the proclamation till the enemy should have been driven across the Indus. Sooraj Mal, displeased by these extreme measures, withdrew to his own dominions. His defection the Mahratta treated with apparent indifference. The Rajpoot princes followed his example.

Ahmed Shah was encamped on the Ganges at Anoopshere, on the borders of Oude. Though in this situation he passed the rainy season, he was not led thither by that purpose. He awaited the assistance of the Rohillas, and wanted, by means of Najeeb, to secure the co-operation of Soojah-ood-Dowlah. This prince was too conscientious to declare war against the Mohammedans; he was also restrained both by his interests and the rankling remembrance of the hostility which existed between his father, Safder Jung, and Ahmed Shah. The influence of Najeeb-ood-Dowlah brought about a reconciliation; and he gave his adhesion to the Abdallees, and was made the medium of public negotiation, which continued to be carried on for several months between the belligerents.

Sedasheo had Mirza, the son of the absent Shah Alum, proclaimed emperor, and Soojah-ood-Dowlah as his vizier, and then set out for Kunjpoora, a strongly fortified town on the Jumna, about sixty miles above Delhi, which he took by storm almost under the eyes of Ahmed Shah, who hastened to its assistance, and on his arrival had the mortification to learn its fate, and that the garrison, all Rohillas, had perished by the sword. Enraged at the result, the emperor resolved to pass the river.

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* Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 140.

On the 17th October, 1760, Ahmed set out from his camp, and marching all night encamped next day at the ford of Bangpoot, about twenty miles from Delhi; not being able to find a footing, several horsemen who attempted to cross lost their lives. On the third day a ford was discovered, but very narrow, and of such depth on each side as to drown those who should lose their footing. With the aid of this, and by swimming, the whole army passed over in two days, but several lives were sacrificed in the execution of this bold undertaking. The Mahrattas who had stormed Kunjpoora, in order to command the passage of the river and to attack the Abdallees, confounded by this daring and successful feat, retired from their position and fell back on Paniput, having previously sustained an attack with the loss of two thousand on their side, and of half that number of the enemy. Here they pitched their camp, and enclosed both it and the town with a trench sixty feet wide and twelve feet deep, and threw up a formidable rampart, on which was planted the cannon. Ahmed Shah encamped at a distance of a few miles, and fortified his intrenchments at night with felled trees.

The army of Ahmed Shah was made up of forty-one thousand eight hundred horse, thirty-eight thousand foot, and seventy pieces of cannon. The irregulars not mustered were very numerous.

The Mahrattas amounted to fifty-five thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, including Ibrahim Khan's sepoys. There were also two hundred pieces of cannon, besides Pindarries and followers, of whom there are supposed to have been over two hundred thousand.*

The inequality of the forces forbade an engagement on the part of the Affghans, and during this period of suspense the affairs of the Mahrattas were becoming daily more embarrassed. Govind Rao Bondela, who, with ten thousand men, was ordered to hang on the rear of the enemy in order to intercept all supplies, rendered effective service, and produced a great scarcity of provisions, and consequently an exorbitant price was offered for them in the camp, until he was surprised, his men put to the sword, and his head brought to Ahmed Shah. This misfortune did not come alone; two thousand horse, who were sent to Delhi to convey some treasures to the camp, having lost their way, fell in with the enemy, were dispersed, and put to the sword. Every day, during the three months they continued in this situation, the armies were drawn up in line and the cannon placed, followed by a distant cannonade and frequent skirmishes between the cavalry. During this interval the armies had some spirited though partial engagements. The Mahrattas were the aggressors. Three of these actions deserve notice. On the 29th of November, about fifteen thousand made an attack on the left of the Affghan camp, where the vizier was posted. His men were broken, and two thousand of them fell. The whole camp being roused and led to his assistance, the assailants, with the loss of one thousand, had to seek the protection of their intrenchments. Holkar commanded on this occasion. The second action was on the twenty-third of the following month, when the vizier was proceeding, to perform his devotions, to a mosque in the neighbourhood, and was attacked by a large body of Mahrattas with so much vigour that the strong guard, which accompanied him, was broken, and only fifty horsemen remained to defend him. With these he bravely maintained his ground, till a reinforcement, led by some of the most distinguished chiefs, advanced to the rescue. The Mahrattas fought with their accustomed bravery, and were on the point of victory when their leader was shot at the close of the day with a musket-ball. His friends, in the greatest affliction, retired to their intrenchments, bearing with them the corpse of their chief, but not until three thousand of the enemy had covered the field with their lifeless bodies. The third encounter was similar in its provocation and results.

Ahmed Shah fully sustained his reputation. He did everything that an able general, skilful and confident in his abilities, could achieve in his circumstances. The highest discipline was maintained, and his orders were obeyed, says the historian, like destiny, no man daring to hesitate or delay one moment in executing them. Thus were the two armies employed from morning to nine or ten at night. The Indian chiefs, harassed by these delays, at length became impatient, and besought the shah to come to a decisive engagement; his constant reply was "This is a matter of war with which you are not acquainted. In other affairs do as you please, but leave this to me: military operations must not be precipitated. You will see how I will manage this affair, and at a proper opportunity will bring it to a conclusion." During the whole of the time spent before the Mahrattas, he had a small red tent, nearly a mile in advance of his camp, to which he proceeded every morning at sunrise to offer up his prayers. Having performed this duty, he mounted his horse, and accompanied by his son, Timoor Shah, and a small guard, visited every post, and reconnoitred the enemy. Everything was submitted to his personal inspection; he remained all day in his saddle, and before he retired for the night he had ridden fifty or sixty miles. At night a body of five thousand horse was placed within a convenient distance of the enemy's camp, as a corps of observation. They remained there till dawn under arms, others were sent round the whole encampment, and Ahmed used to say to the Hindostanee chiefs, "Do you sleep, I will take care that no harm befalls you."* The persevering resolution to resist those importunities which urged an immediate engagement, was shown in the sequel to have been the best policy, and that he was acquainted both with men's minds and the science of war. The embarrassments in which he was involved displayed to him the severe straits to which his more helpless antagonist was reduced, and that a short delay would deliver him into his hands. In these extremities, the Mahratta commander saw the impossibility of avoiding any longer a general engagement, as all the attempts which he had made, through Soojah-ood-Dowlah, had been unavailing; the repeated reply of Ahmed to these proposals being, "I am only an auxiliary, and have no views of my own. I claim the entire management of the war, but leave to the Indian princes the negotiations." Several of the latter were disposed to an accommodation; it was energetically opposed by a few, who were of opinion that they would be exposed to utter destruction if the Affghans withdrew leaving the Mahratta power in its integrity.

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* *Asiatic Researches*; Grant Duff.

The camp of the Mahrattas was strictly watched to prevent the approach of any convoys, and both provisions for man and beast had failed. One night about twenty thousand of the camp followers had gone out to seek some supplies; they were attacked by the enemy, and cut to pieces. This sad news quickly circulated, and the chiefs and soldiers in a body surrounded their commander, and vociferously demanded to be led to battle, as death itself was preferable to their misery. He approved of their resolve, and with his usual composure distributed the usual pan and betel at the breaking up of the assembly, and orders were issued to prepare for the attack the next morning before daybreak. All the grain in store was then prepared to supply a full meal that night. An hour before daybreak on the 7th of January the troops were in motion, with their artillery stationed in the van. They were all prepared for the worst, and their countenances exhibited the fixity of hopeless despair rather than steady resolution; the ends of their turbans were loose, and, just before the final order for marching was issued, Sedasheo dispatched the following laconic note to Casi Rao, Pundit, a native of the Deccan, acquainted with the Mahratta language, and who had some friends in the Mahratta army, and was then in the service of Soojah-ood-Dowlah. "The cup is now full to the brim, and cannot hold another drop. If anything can be done, do it, or else answer me plainly at once: hereafter there will be no time for speaking or writing."

This note reached its destination about three in the morning. It was forwarded to Ahmed Shah, and accompanied with the startling intelligence that his enemy was advancing to the charge. He instantly mounted his steed, which stood caparisoned at the door of his tent, and in the dress he then had on rode in front of his camp, and as he proceeded he ordered the troops under arms. He then commanded Casi Rao to his presence, who confirmed the authenticity of the information previously communicated, and assured him that the Mahrattas had quitted their lines, and would attack his army as soon as it was light. At the moment this conversation had ended some of the Abdallees passed by with their horses loaded with plunder from the enemy's camp, and reported that its late occupants had taken flight. A sudden peal of artillery in front revealed the true state of affairs. Upon hearing this discharge the shah, who was in his saddle smoking a Persian killian, handed it to his servant, and with great calmness remarked that Casi Rao's information was true. He then sent for the grand vizier, Shah Wullee Khan, and Shah Pussund Khan. The latter he ordered to lead his division to the left of Najeeb-ood-Dowlah, and form the extreme of the line in that direction, and the vizier he directed to take post in the centre, and Berkhordan Khan, with some other chiefs, he placed on the right. The whole were divided into nine divisions in line, with the Persian musketeers and artillery drawn up in advance. Their faces were to the westward. The Mahratta force was drawn up in eight divisions, with their artillery, as has been said, also in front, with their faces to the east. Ibrahim Khan, with his mercenaries, was posted on the extreme left; Scindiah on the right; Sedasheo, with Wiswas Rao and Jaswint Rao Powar, were opposite the grand vizier. The great *bhugwa jenda*, or standard of the nation, was displayed in the front. The dispersion of the night mists disclosed the colours of the advancing columns, as they marched slowly and regularly to the encounter. Ahmed took his stand at his little red tent, which, by the approximation of the armies, was now in the rear of his. As the armies were closing Ibrahim Khan rode up to Sedasheo, and, having saluted him, thus addressed him:—"You have been long displeased with me for insisting on the regular payment of my men; this day I will convince you that we have not been paid so long without meriting it:" he then seized a colour, and, commanding the artillery and musketry of his division to cease firing, at the head of his battalions, with fixed bayonets, he advanced fearlessly to the charge, while the battle-cry of the Mahrattas, "Hur, Hurree! Hur, Hurree!" rang in the ears of the Mohammedans. This tremendous charge was directed against the centre, where the troops of the vizier—ten thousand of whom were cavalry—were posted. These were Rohillas. They received the charge with undaunted resolution, and maintained the conflict hand to hand. Their undisciplined courage added to their loss; near eight thousand were killed or wounded; and such was the carnage, that after this exploit few remained with their chiefs. The flanks of the mercenaries during this conflict were defended with equal intrepidity by two battalions which Ibrahim had ordered on that service, and though repeated efforts were directed against them, they repeatedly repulsed the Affghan columns. They broke through and laid open the right of the grand vizier, who was now attacked by Sedasheo and Wiswas Rao, with the flower of the army. A fierce contest was here maintained, the combatants confusedly mingled together, and involved in a cloud of dust, could not be distinguished from each other but by the iteration of their respective war-cries: the Mohammedan Allah! and Deen! and the Mahratta Hurree! Mahdeo! which rent the air. The vizier leaped from his horse to inspirit the few faltering survivors; the bravest of his men followed his example. To some who endeavoured to seek safety in flight he cried, "Our country is far off, my friends; whither do ye fly?" Attai Khan, his brave nephew, fell by his side; his men were forced to give way; he still maintained his ground with three or four hundred horsemen, the broken remnant of his force. Such was the vigour and desperation of the attack, which lasted for three hours, that six out of ten of Ibrahim's battalions were almost destroyed, and the brave chief received several spear wounds and one musket ball. Soojah-ood-Dowlah, to whom the vizier sent for assistance, with the assurance that if he did not hasten to his support he should perish, though commanding the next division, was prevented from doing so, as he alleged "that the enemy being so near, and likely to charge him, the worst consequences might follow to the whole army if he made any movement at that time which might enable the enemy to pass through the line." The left wing of the Mohammedans remained still unbroken. The action was maintained till noon, and then the victory inclined to the Mahrattas. At this hour the shah learned the critical state of affairs in the centre and on the right, and the perilous position of his brave vizier. In this emergency he displayed his great military capabilities, and made the necessary disposition of his forces to remedy the evils which threatened. From his reserve he sent ten thousand to the support of the vizier, and four thousand to cover the right flank; the former column was instructed to charge in close order, at full gallop, and sword in hand; at the same time he gave directions to the two divisions on the remote left to attack the enemy's flank as often as the vizier should charge them in front. These directions were faithfully executed. At once the vizier was in a position to become the assailant, though his onsets were repeatedly repelled. In the meantime Ahmed, dispatched five hundred of his personal guards to his own camp, with orders to drive out of their tents all the armed people, and fifteen hundred to intercept the fugitives from the battle, and to put to the sword every man who refused to return to the charge. By this precaution the return of eight thousand men was enforced. The battle was stationary for near an hour, and maintained on both sides with spears, swords, battle-axes, and even daggers. Though the slight frames of the Mahrattas rendered them an unequal match for the more muscularly developed Affghans, they fought valiantly on this terrible day; and none of their chiefs subjected himself to animadversion, except Holkar, whose courage no one could question, but whose fidelity to the cause of his nation several have impugned. All agreed that he did not do his duty to his prince in this critical affair. Between two and three o'clock Wiswas Rao was mortally wounded, and dismounted from his horse. Sedasheo had him placed upon his elephant, while he himself mounted his famous Arab charger, and encouraged his troops; sustaining the fight near half an hour longer at their head, and shunning no danger, in the confusion of the fight he disappeared, and was seen no more. All at once, for no perceptible cause that has been related, as if by enchantment, the whole Mahratta army turned their backs and fled with the greatest precipitation. The field of battle was covered with the slain. They were pursued with the greatest fury in every direction for a space of fifteen or twenty miles; no quarter was given, and thousands were mercilessly slaughtered. The men, women, and children, who had indiscriminately fled to the shelter of Paniput, on the following day were led prisoners to the Affghan: the men were butchered, the women and children doomed to slavery. The heads of the fallen were reared in ghastly and revolting piles to commemorate the victory. A spectator of the carnage states, "There were five hundred thousand souls in the Mahratta camp, of whom the greater part were killed or taken prisoners, and of those who escaped from the field and the pursuit, many were destroyed by the zemindars." The Affghans accounted for their cruelty by saying "that when they were leaving their own country, their mothers, sisters, and wives desired that whenever they should defeat the unbelievers they would kill a few of them on their account, that they might also possess a merit in the sight of God."

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* Casi Rao; *Asiatic Researches,* vol. iii. p. 110; Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 14.

The plunder found in the camp was enormous. A common soldier, with ten camels laden with valuable effects was not an exceptional sight; horses were brought away in flocks, like sheep, and great numbers of elephants were also taken. The inferior officers and privates were left to continue the plunder and pursuit at discretion.

Ahmed Shah, to his everlasting infamy, made no effort to check these enormities; he rather sanctioned them by his acts as well as connivance. He instituted a rigid search for Jancojee Scindiah, who, he had heard, was concealed by one of the Affghans. To save him from being discovered he was put to death. He compelled Soojah-ood-Dowlah to surrender the gallant Ibrahim Khan, and meanly descended to reproach a warrior whose deeds should have won respect, and his misfortunes sympathy. He then confined him; death saved him from further indignity; in a week he died of his wounds. Wiswas Rao's body was found, and Ahmed Shah, having demanded it from Soojah-ood-Dowlah, who had ransomed it for the sum of two thousand rupees, ordered that it should be taken care of, and exhibited it to all the army before his tent. The Affghans exclaimed, "This is the body of the king of the unbelievers, we will have it dried and stuffed to take back to Cabul;" this demand the shah conceded, but Soojah-ood-Dowlah afterwards prevailed on him to permit it to be burned. Over twenty miles from the scene of battle a decapitated trunk was found, and a few days after the supposed head, which were identified, by several private marks, as the remains of Sedasheo.

The chiefs of the Mahrattas nearly all perished. The survivors, beside those who had been left with a force at Delhi, were Holkar, accused of treachery; Mahajee Scindiah, who afterwards founded a great state; and Nana Farnavis, whose services were for a long time the principal support of the peishwa. Sooraj Mal hospitably entertained the fugitives who reached his territory, and to this day the memory of that kindness is cherished, and the Jats are revered by the Mahrattas.

The following letter, which reached the peishwa when crossing the Nerbuddah, communicated the news of the defeat: "Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be cast up." From these words the fate of Sedasheo, Wiswas Rao, the officers and soldiers, was understood. The consternation when the disastrous intelligence reached home was universal, every family had a loss to mourn. The peishwa never recovered the shock. By very slow marches he retraced his steps to Poonah. His faculties began to fail; his physical powers rapidly decayed; he expired in the end of June, in the temple of Parbuttee, which he had erected in the environs of the city of Poonah.

The wreck of the once magnificent army retired beyond the Nerbuddah, and the acquisitions in Hindostan proper were evacuated. The power of the peishwa never recovered this blow. Ahmed Shah, had he been inclined to reap the advantages of his victory, was frustrated by the dissensions in his camp, and the mutinous demands for arrears and the immediate return to Cabul. He received forty lacs of rupees in compensation for his services. No sooner had the native Mohammedan princes been released from the formidable danger which threatened their independence, than the coalition, lately so successful, was dissolved. The Mogul empire, after this period, ceased to exist as an independent power. The title of emperor was only a name. In the history of the British empire in India we must seek the subsequent history of the kingdom of Delhi, as well as that of the other nations of the great eastern peninsula.

CHAPTER XLIII.

REVIEW OF THE MOHAMMEDAN PERIOD.

The character of this period of Indian history has been very variously estimated at different periods, and by diverse schools of European politicians. Some modern authors have panegyrized it in terms which had they not been blinded by the motives which impelled them thus to write, could hardly fail to discover their own errors of statement and extravagance. The disposition to laud the Mohammedan rulers of India, and to give exaggerated descriptions of whatever was favourable in the condition of the country during that period, proceeded in a large degree from personal, commercial, or political hostility to the East India Company. That once mighty corporation has been dissolved since the commencement of this History, and the descriptions given in these pages of the constitution and government of that body belongs already to the past. No motive could remain—if such had existed—for vindicating the company's character or administration but the love of justice and truth. Thus uninfluenced, the historian cannot fail to compare, favourably to the company, India under its *régime*, and the genius and spirit of its government, with India under the dominion of its Mohammedan conquerors, and with the government they administered. The commercial jealousy of the East India Company made many enemies among British merchants, and its valuable privileges created among that class extensive envy, as well as conflicting interests. To this cause chiefly the dissolution of the company in the session of the British parliament, which closed in August, 1858, may be attributed, after a long-sustained opposition to its monopoly, both of trade and power, by numerous sections of English mercantile men. The grievances inflicted upon traders and residents in India by the jealousy which the company felt towards independent British settlers, especially if connected with the press, created intense animosities in England against many of its superior officers personally, and against the continuance of its power. These animosities grew in England with the facilities of communication with the East, the knowledge of the resources and value of British India, the enterprise of modern commerce, and the freedom of modern opinion; every personal injustice which the company visited upon intrusive settlers or travellers, and which, without its authority, was inflicted by its officers, was related in the English newspapers, and spread upon the pages of the cheap press, ever multiplying its issues, and extending its influence, until a public sentiment, adverse to the justice of the company, grew up among the middle classes. The ultra-liberal sections of English politicians eagerly decried the policy of the company, and reviled with an indignant spirit of nationality the sway of a corporation over an empire where the British nation, represented by its sovereign, alone should reign. All these circumstances procured a favourable audience for any lecturer or orator who had anything to say against the company. Associations were formed to employ such men; eloquent speakers were paid to lecture against the company; India stock was purchased in the name of certain of these popular lecturers, by which they were entitled to attend the meetings of proprietors, and inveigh against the directors, their management at home, and what was called their tyranny, peculation, and aggressive policy abroad. Efforts, occasionally successful, to place some of these advocates of "free trade and free government in India," in the House of Commons, were made. The members of the Peace Society considered the company too warlike, and opposed it on that ground. The Quakers, with whom "the peace principle" is a religious tenet, joined those who, in this "agitation, entertained it as a policy." The Manchester school, hating war on grounds of political economy, and on the utilitarian principle of maintaining commercial intercourse with nations, however those nations might inflict personal injury on individual British subjects, or insult on British dignity, naturally associated themselves with the other sections of English citizens just named, and charged the company with the wars and misgovernment of India, even when the Board of Control had, in spite of the company, carried out the policy for which it was censured. As many of the leaders of these classes of the English people which opposed the company were wealthy, and took an active part in local or imperial politics, and were men of intelligence and virtue, they exercised an influence, upon public opinion at large, formidable to the company, and were unintentionally the means of creating a numerous class of needy adventurers, who to obtain places or employment, which there was no hope of gaining at the India-house, libelled unscrupulously the government and character of the company; nor were individual members of the "committee" at Leadenhall street, or the council and presidential governments of India, spared in this venal and truthless warfare. It was under such circumstances that contrasts between Mohammedan and British India were drawn in favour of the former. The European press in India, for the most part illiberally treated by the local governments and great officers of the company, and therefore hostile, furnished in its columns ample materials for the opponents of the company to work with. Editors and writers, and proprietors of Indian newspapers, who returned to England, circulated accounts highly prejudicial to the company—generally true as it regarded the treatment they personally experienced, generally false or perverted as to the principles and procedure of the company in the civil or military transactions of the times. To meet these injured or interested opponents, confute the calumnies of hirelings, the mistakes, and erroneous, imperfect, or exaggerated information of those who employed them, the company made no adequate exertion. Now and then some *employé* at Leadenhall Street wrote a leader for the London daily press; or a civil or military officer, fresh from the neighbourhood where some misdeed of the company's was represented as having taken place, wrote a pamphlet contradicting the falsehood. Books were occasionally published on the great historical events passing in the East, such as the Sikh or Affghan war, by actors on the great stage; and in these an *exposé* was made of the calumnies circulated against the company; but the writers of these works were generally too ignorant of the state of society at home—especially political and commercial society—to comprehend the animus with which the attacks upon the company proceeded from different quarters. Thus a bad character of the company gradually spread among all ranks in England, but especially among the classes who resided in the great commercial cities of England, and possessed the elective franchise. Among these pamphlets, written *ad populum*, were circulated, showing what good rulers the great Moguls were, how well Saracen and Affghan governed, how stupendous their public works, and how much they cared for their people. The changes were rung upon the phrase paternal government, as applied to those despotic Mohammedan rulers, by men who professed to teach at other times that people needed not paternal sovereigns, that they were able to walk alone, or must learn to do so; and that for princes to treat citizens as children, to be petted or chastised at their will or pleasure, was a usurpation of government, which belonged to the people, whose will and law constitutional princes should feel themselves honoured in faithfully administering.

On the continent of Europe, and in the United States, the grand military triumphs of the company excited an intense envy, but more especially in France and Russia than anywhere else. The press of those countries culled articles from that of India and of England, written under the circumstances and from the causes just named, and perverted those materials, working out from them attacks upon the justice, integrity, and humanity of the company, and of the English government and people at large. These were reproduced in the English press, and very frequently consisted of ingenious and specious contrasts between the grandeur, dignity, glory, greatness, and comfort of Mohammedan India, and the tyranny, meanness, excessive taxation, and general wretchedness exhibited in the condition of British India. In this way false ideas of both Mohammedan and British India were propagated in Europe. The British people were unjust to themselves, and to their countrymen, men whose part in life was played in their most magnificent possession; while a truthless homage was paid to the character, government, and civilization, of as ruthless and tyrannous a race as ever stained the earth with blood, or bound its inhabitants in the chains of despotic government. The perusal of the chapters of this History immediately preceding the present, can hardly fail to remove much of this popular and unjust prejudice in favour of the Mohammedan conquerors of India, although in writing them the author has scrupulously adhered to the obligation of an historian — "Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice."

Indeed there is a considerable difficulty in unravelling the skein of Mohammedan history in the East, so entirely faithless are the Mohammedan chroniclers themselves. It was justly said by Elphinstone concerning the history of Akbar, written by a Mohammedan writer, now commonly quoted, Abul Fazel, "An uniform strain of panegyric and triumph is kept up, which disgusts the reader with the author, and almost with the hero. Amidst these unmeaning flourishes, the real merits of Akbar disappear, and it is from other authors we learn the motives of his actions, the difficulties he had to contend with, and the resources by which they were surmounted."

It has been very much the fashion to rely upon all early writings which treat of Mohammedan history; this strange indiscriminate confidence, where the utmost caution and the soundest criticism were necessary, has contributed also to a more favourable judgment upon the Mohammedans in India, and in Asia generally, than comports with an enlightened opinion. Dr. Spreuger correctly says: "There has been a time when every Arabic, Persian, or Turkish work, containing the history of Mohammed and his successors, or any part of the history of the East, was considered as a source of information, the authority of which was above all doubt and question." There is a tendency to commit the fault censured by Dr. Spreuger, not only by the writers of Mohammedan history, but by those also who relate the history of other nations. The eagerness to obtain the narratives of contemporary authors, induces a forgetfulness of the facts that all contemporary history is not equally trustworthy, and that the kinds of testimony given concerning contemporaneous events are, however reliable, of different relative value. "Our scholars have written Greek history as if every contemporary record were of equal value; and they have drawn their conclusions from the sneers of the satirist as unhesitatingly as from the gravest statesmen. To the historian satires and libels are invaluable aids; they may sometimes throw a new light on a period, and they will always illustrate its manners and views. Thus every classical scholar who has read Thucydides and Aristophanes, hand in hand, taking each comedy in its order, as he reached the corresponding year of the Peloponnesian war, will know how vivid the interest is which the comedy will throw on the sober history. . . . . But satire and comedy are to illustrate, not to prove; and if we use them as evidence they must mislead. Mr. Grote's chapter on the Sophists is a memorable illustration of this. For ages men have accepted satire as proof, and of course it has prejudiced their views. The *Punch* of our day will be an invaluable aid to the future historian, as representing the present time in its lighter traits and feelings; but alas for historic truth if he forgets what *Punch* is, and treats it as many a scholar has treated Aristophanes." *

In judging of the character of Mohammedan princes in India, of their governments, and the condition of the people under them, it seems to have been very much forgotten by modern historians that the writers of such accounts as are handed down to us were influenced by fanaticism, policy, and interest, to place all matters in a light favourable to their party, as of course they regarded all subjects from a Mohammedan point of view. Where conquerors write accounts of their own deeds and motives, which the vanquished dare not controvert, or know not how to do so, it is absurd to rely upon such relations. "To this class belongs Mohammedan history: even at its best we have only the records of Islam, not of the nationalities which Islam crushed. Thus the great blank in the history of Mohammedan India is the absence of any Hindoo account of the struggle; we have only the annals of the invader. Not one voice from the millions which were conquered has dared to tell us of his countrymen's struggles or despair. Even when a Hindoo has written he only writes as a Mohammedan." * "From one of that nation we might have expected to learn what were the hopes, fears, yearnings, and efforts of his subject race; but, unfortunately, he rarely writes except according to order or dictation, and every phrase is studiously turned to flatter the vanity of an imperious Mohammedan patron. There is nothing to betray his religion or his nation, except, perhaps, a certain stiffness and affectation of style, which show how ill the foreign garb befits him." †

When the accounts given to us by Mohammedan writers are subjected to just principles of historical criticism, the laudations bestowed by so many modern writers on the continent of Europe, in America, in England, and even in India, upon the Mohammedan rulers and their works, will vanish as empty declamation, or praise invidiously bestowed. From the earliest advent of the Arab armies on the western confines of India—during the latter part of the seventh century—to the time when the glory of the Mohammedan rule faded with the reign of the treacherous and unfilial Aurungzebe, or perished utterly when the late sanguinary and crownless King of Delhi was sent a convict from the palace whose marbles he stained with the blood of English women and children, the Mohammedans have been rapacious, perfidious, bigoted, sanguinary, cruel, and vindictive. Their history is a story of fanaticism, lust, and slaughter; and their traces in India will soon sink from view, except as the memory of their misdeeds shall continue, or the Christian philosopher shall point out the purposes for which an all-wise Providence overruled their career.

When the Arab armies penetrated to Cabul, and pushed their conquering way down to Mooltan, penetrating into Scinde, and along the banks of the Indus, their valour and military capacity were proved to be far superior to those of the natives. At times a chivalrous patriotism was shown by the Hindoo people, especially when the Rajpoots came into conflict with the impetuous intruders, but generally this quality was confined to those to whom defeat was the loss of honour and riches, territory and power. The Arab conquests were, on the whole, easily effected—a few of the invaders sometimes making fugitives a native host. In the struggles between the Rajpoots and the intruders, by which the latter were eventually driven out of Scinde, a most unequal contest was maintained, the Arab cavalry bravely encountering all odds, charging ten times their number, and achieving prodigies of valour. They were greatly gallant during the conflicts which issued in their expulsion, as well as in those which made them conquerors of Scinde.

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* *Calcutta Review.*

* *Calcutta Review.*

† Sir H. Elliot's *Biographical Index*, Introduction, p. xviii.

The various hordes which subsequently, under chiefs of mixed Turkish and Mogul descent, swept fiercely over the northern provinces of India, were scarcely less brave, and showed even more address in war than the armies of the caliphs. When eventually the founders of the Mohammedan empire in India laid the basis of a dominion which, for long after, was the wonder of the world, the same military capacity and heroism which characterized their predecessors was displayed. It was not until after the European period had commenced, and especially during the sway of the British, that the lofty courage and adaptation for military enterprise of the Mohammedan conquerors of India abated. Then, however, such qualities rapidly disappeared, until a "handful" of British soldiers could chase ten times their number of Mussulman troops or fanatics from the field.

A few of the Mohammedan princes of India governed well; their fiscal regulations were wise; their concessions to the vanquished were politic; clemency shone brightly where generally a ruthless vengeance had reigned; and public works, ornamental and useful, were carried on in the great cities and rural districts. Notwithstanding all the care with which it is necessary to approach the narratives of partial Mohammedan and hypocritical Hindoo writers, it is to be credited that several of the great Mohammedan princes were not only men of genius, but of justice and of mercy. At the close of the tenth century Sebektegin, who ascended the throne of Affghanistan from the condition of a slave to the former ruler, and whose name is favourably identified with the Mohammedan history of the period, was one of those chiefs who knew how to conduct war, and employ the advantages of peace. "A story is told of Sebektegin, while yet a private soldier, which proves the humanity of the historian, if not of the hero. One day, in hunting, he succeeded in riding down a fawn; but when he was bringing off his prize in triumph, he observed the dam following his horse, and showing such evident marks of distress, that he was touched with compassion, and at last released his captive, pleasing himself with the gratitude of the mother, which often turned back to gaze at him as she went off to the forest with her fawn. That night the Prophet appeared to him in a dream, told him that God had given to him a kingdom as a reward for his humanity, and enjoined him not to forget his feelings of mercy when he came to the exercise of power." * By narratives such as this the illustrious deeds of the Mohammedan princes are obscured, and rendered less credible. The great objects pursued by most of them were renown, plunder, and fanaticism. The glory of conquest had as great a charm for the Mohammedan victors of India as for a modern Frenchman; and Napoleon the Great did not more indiscriminately seize the objects of art, or quarter his troops upon the people of unoffending provinces of Europe, than did the greatest heroes of the various Mohammedan dynasties seize upon the palaces and treasures of the vanquished.

When Mahmood, the successor of Sebektegin, made his first incursions as far as the Jumna, he stormed cities and razed fortresses, putting their garrisons promiscuously to the sword, and marking his whole route by rapine, returned to Ghizni laden with the riches and spoils of extreme northern India. He had been as zealous for religion as avaricious of gold, or vainglorious of conquest, for he struck down idols, and defaced, desecrated, or destroyed all the temples in the line of his marches. The career and conduct of this man will furnish the reader with a fair estimate of the character of even the best of the victorious leaders of the hordes of Mohammedan cavalry which poured down like a living torrent upon north-western India during the eleventh and succeeding century.

"Mahmood, if not the greatest sovereign the world ever saw—as maintained by most Mohammedan writers—was assuredly the most famous of his age. Uniting in his person many brilliant and estimable qualities, he possessed but few of the failings so peculiar to the time in which he lived. To the character of a great general he added that of a liberal encourager of literature and the arts; and although he was not wanting in religious zeal, and lost no opportunity of humbling the power of Hindoo authority, he cannot be charged with any acts of cruelty against his heathen adversaries; and it is said that he never took the life of a Hindoo save in battle, or during the storming of a fortress. This, it must be remembered, is the character of a

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* Elphinstone, vol. i. p. 526.

prince who lived in an age when imprisonment and murder were ordinary steps in a royal career. Perhaps his great failing, and one which grew with his years, was that of avarice. His Indian conquests helped to fill his treasury to an extent unknown in any previous or future reign. It is reported that upon his hearing of the great wealth of some contemporary monarch, who had managed to amass a considerable treasure, more especially in precious stones, he expressed it to be a source of pious consolation to him that he was possessed of yet superior treasures.*

As among the earlier sovereigns, so among the later, the passion for aggrandizement, and the indulgence of an unprincipled ambition, which disdained no means, however unworthy, and abhorred no instruments, however cruel and sanguinary, which might be employed for its gratification, in most instances were cherished. The picture given by Sir Thomas Roe, who was dispatched by King James I. at the beginning of 1615 as *Ambassador to the Great Mogul, or King of India,* portrays how vicious and tyrannical was the court of one of the best specimens of the more modern Mohammedan emperors. When Sir Thomas reached Berhampore he found the emperor's third son, Sultan Parveiz, the chief person in authority, and presented himself, that, as the ambassador of England, he might pay his respects. Among the presents which he brought was a case of European wine, which the prince opened immediately after the state audience terminated, and continued to drink until he became too much intoxicated even to speak to the representative of King James.

As the son, so the father, whom Sir Thomas describes as addicted to intoxication, to the serious injury of his health and capacity for business. This was the great Jehanghire. The family of the emperor lived, among one another and with the emperor himself, in a state of continual feud. Sir Thomas found that the eldest prince, and heir-apparent to the throne, was a prisoner, having been guilty of rebellion; and every member of the family was in some manner committed to an intrigue as to the succession. Sir Thomas, admitting the talent for governing and for the home direction of military affairs possessed by this great padishaw of India, complains of his petulance, puerility, meanness, cruelty, and bigotry,—"flattered by some, envied by others, loved by none." As one of the objects of the British minister was to form a commercial treaty, his accomplishment of that object brought out the character of Mohammedan princes and a Mohammedan court. It was only by bribery the most open that he could obtain the necessary signatures and formalities to give validity to the agreements actually made by the padishaw. The Portuguese were rivals, and their bribes appear to have been more skilfully dispersed—the venial court caring nothing for its dignity, truth, and honour, but anxious only to stimulate the rivalry of the two European powers, so as to secure the largest possible amount of bribes. Sir Thomas at one time despaired of success, because of the "rubies, ballaces, emeralds, and jewels, which so much contented the king and his great men, that we were for a time nearly eclipsed." The Prince Khurram, afterwards known as Shah Jehan, and holding so distinguished a place in Mohammedan Indian history, was among those towards whom the process of bribery was as necessary as to those who bore no royal blood in their veins. By dint of presents Sir Thomas succeeded at last. The following description of one of his interviews will show the folly, meanness, falsehood, and treachery which characterized the Mohammedan imperial court at a time when it was at the acme of its glory and renown, and tend to remove, if anything can, the allegations made in Western Europe and America of the justice of Mohammedan rule, and the glories of its civilization:—"The thirteenth at night I went to the Gussell Chan, where is best opportunitie to doe businesse, and tooke with mee the Italian, determining to walke no longer in darknesse, but to proove the king, being in all other wayes delayed and refused; I was sent for in with my old broaker, but my interpreter was kept out, Asaph Chan mistrusting I would utter more than he was willing to heare. When I came to the king, he appointed mee a place to stand just before him, and sent to aske mee many questions about the King of Englande, and of the present I gave the day before, to some of which I answered, but at last I said, my interpreter was kept out, I could speake no Portugall, and so wanted means to satisfie his maiestie, whereat (much against Asaph Chan's desire) he was admitted. I bad him tell the king I desired to speake to him; he answered willingly, whereat Asaph Chan's sonne-in-law pulled him away by force, and that faction hedged the king so, that I could scarce see him, nor the other approach him. So I commanded the Italian to speake aloud, that I craved audience of the king, whereat the king called me, and they made me way. Asaph Chan stood on one side of my interpreter, and I on the other; I to enforme him in mine owne cause, he to awe him with winking and jogging. I bad him say, that I now had been here two moneths, whereof more than one was passed in sicknesse, the other in compliments, and nothing effected toward the ende for which my master had employed mee, which was to conclude a firme and constant love and peace between their maiesties, and to establish a faire and secure trade and residence for my countreymen. He answered, that was already granted. I replyed, it was true, but it depended yet on so light a thred, on so weake conditions, that being of such importance, it required an agreement cleare in all points, and a more formall and authentique confirmation, then it had by ordinary firmans, which were temporary commands, and respected accordingly. He asked me what presents we would bring him. I answered, the league was yet new, and very weake; that many curiosities were to be found in our country of rare price and estimation, which the king would send, and the merchants seeke out in all parts of the world, if they were once made secure of a quiet trade and protection on honourable conditions, having been heretofore many wayes wronged. He asked what kind of curiosities those were I mentioned; whether I meant jewels and rich stones. I answered, no; that we did not think them fit presents to send backe which were brought first from these parts, whereof he was chiefe lord; that we esteemed them common here, and of much more price with us, but that we sought to finde such things for his maiestie as were rare here and unseene, as excellent artifices in painting, carving, cutting, enamelling, figures in brasse, copper, or stones, rich embroyderies, stuffes of gold and silver. He said it was very well, but that hee desired an English horse. I answered, it was impossible by sea and by land: the Turke would not suffer passage. He replyed, that hee thought it not impossible by sea; I told him the dangers of stormes and varietties of weather would proove it. He answered, if sixe were put into a ship, one might live, and though it came leane, he would fat it. I replied, I was confident it could not be in so long a voyage, but that for his maiestie's satisfaction I would write to advise of his request. So he asked, what was it then I demanded? I said, that hee would bee pleased to signe certaine reasonable conditions which I had conceived for the confirmation of the league, and for the securitie of our nation, and their quiet trade, for that they had beene often wronged, and could not continue on such termes, which I forbeare to complaine of, hoping by faire means to procure amendment. At this word Asaph Chan offered to pull my interpreter, but I held him, suffering him onely to winke, and make unprofitable signes. The king hereat grew suddenly in to choller, pressing to know who had wronged us, with such fury, that I was loath to follow it, and speaking in broken Spanish to my interpreter to an answer, that with what was passed I would not trouble his maiestie, but would seeke justice of his sonne, the prince, of whose favour I doubted not." *

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* Elphinstone, vol. i

The foregoing quotation shows the Mogul in his relation to the ambassadors of other states and the princes whom they represented; the following picture of his relation to his own people is drawn with equal fidelity and graphic effect:—"The king hath no man but eunuchs that comes within the lodgings or retyring roomes of his house: his women watch within, and guard him with manly weapons; they doe justice one upon another for offences. Hee comes every morning to a window called the *jaruco*, looking into a plaine before his gate, and shewes himselfe to the common people. At noone he returns thither, and sits some houres to see the fight of elephants and wilde beasts. Under him within the raile attended the men of ranke; from whence he retyres to sleep among his women. At afternoone he returns to the durbar before mentioned. At eight after supper he comes downe to the guzelcan, a faire court, wherein in the middest is a throne erected of free stone, wherein he sits, but sometimes below in a chaire, to which are none admitted but of great quality, and few of these, without leave, where hee discourses of all matters with much affabilitie. There is no businesse done with him concerning the state, government, disposition of war or peace, but at one of these two last places, where it is publickely propounded and resolved, and so registered, which, if it were worth the curiositie, might be seene for two shillings; but the common base people knew as much as the councel, and the newes every day is the king's new resolutions, tossed and censured by every rascall. This course is unchangeable, except sicknesse or drinke prevent it; which must be knowne, for as all his subjects are slave, so is he in a kind of reciprocall bondage; for he is tyed to observe these houres and customs so precisely, that if he were unseene one day, and no sufficient reason rendered, the people would mutinie; two days no reason can excuse, but that he must consent to open his doores, and be seene by some to satisfie others. On Tuesday at the jaruco he sits in judgment, never refusing the poorest man's complaint, where he heares with patience both parts, and sometimes sees, with too much delight in blood, the execution done by his elephants. *Illi meruere, sed quid tu ut adesses.*"

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* These statements are confirmed by the chaplain of Sir Thomas, in a work entitled, *A Voyage to the East Indies*, observed by Edward Terry, then Chaplain to the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, Lord Ambassador to the Great Mogul. Reprinted from the edition of 1655. London, 1777.

An able reviewer has justly estimated the testimony of the witness, and the character and civilization of the courts of the Moguls at that particular period, and since then until the most recent period of their tyranny, in the following paragraph:—"Sir Thomas's account is amusing and valuable, as the evidence of an honest and intelligible witness, relative to the habits, forms, customs of the court and camp at that period, when the Mogul empire was nearly at the zenith of its prosperity and splendour. It shows how little it differed, save in wealth and power, from the native courts of more modern date. He dwells continually on the same exhibitions of display and meanness, childishness and intrigue, cruelty and weakness, rigid formalities and gross ignorance, which constitute the record of more recent travellers who have visited the durbars of the descendants of Jehanghire, or of the independent successors of his powerful viceroys."

The atrocious cruelties practised upon their people by the Great Moguls have their counterpart in those perpetrated by the more modern Mohammedan princes. The inexorable severity ever characteristic of Mohammedan rule was displayed to Sir Thomas on various occasions. A few of these instances depict the spirit of Mohammedan government in a light at once so true and so striking, that one may believe it impossible to peruse the like, and yet compare the government of the Moguls with that of the East India Company. "This day a gentle-woman of Normall's was taken in the king's house in some action with an eunuch: another capon that loved her killed him; the poore woman was set up to the armepits in the earth, hard rammed, her feet tied to a stake, to abide three days and two nights without any sustenance, her head and armes exposed to the sunne's violence; if shee dyed not in that time, shee should be pardoned: the eunuch was condemned to the elephants. This damsell yielded in pearles, jewels, and ready money, sixteen hundred thousand rupies."

While on his journey he made the following entries in his journal:—"I remooved foure course to *Ramsor*, where the king had left the bodies of an hundred naked men slaine in the fields for robbery. . . . . I overtooke in the way a camell laden with three hundred men's heads, sent from Candahar by the governor, in present to the king, that were out in rebellion." In an earlier entry in his journal he records that "a hundred thieves were brought chained before the Mogul with their accusation: without further ceremony, as in all such cases is the custom, he ordered them to be carried away, the chiefe of them to be torne in pieces by dogges, the rest put to death. This was all the process and form. The prisoners were divided into several quarters of the town, and executed in the streets, as in one by my house, where twelve dogges tore the chiefe of them in pieces, and thirteen of his fellowes, having their hands tied down to their feet, had their necks cut with a sword, but not quite off, being so left naked, bloody, and stinking, to the view of all men, and the annoyance of the neighbourhood."

Shah Jehan, the mighty successor of this monarch, was frequently, while yet bearing the name of Sultan Khurram, as well as subsequently, brought into diplomatic contact with Sir Thomas Roe, and his descriptions of his character and administration present features of tyranny and cruelty characteristic of the race. In the narrative given in a previous chapter in this History of the reign of these princes, the events of chief importance have been brought out in consecutive order, and such notice taken of their character as was necessary to a proper appreciation of the incidents recorded. The sketches given by Sir Thomas Roe afford an insight as to the spirit and genius of the men and their government as both appeared at the time to an acute English observer, and afford valuable assistance in tracing the comparative claims of Mogul and British rule. Sir Thomas says of Shah Jehan—"The prince sate in the same magnificence, order, and greatneese, that I mentioned of the king; his throne being plated over with silver, inlaid with flowers of gold, and the canopie over it square, borne on foure pillars covered with silver, his armes, sword, buckler, bowe, arrowes, and launce on a table before him. The watch was set, for it was evening when he came abroad. I observed now he was absolute and curious in his fashion and actions: he received two letters, read them standing, before he ascended his throne. I never saw so settled a countenance, nor any man keepe so constant a gravitie, never smiling, nor in face shewing any respect or difference of men, but mingled with extreame pride and contempt of all; yet I found some inward trouble now and then assaile him, and a kind of brokenesse and distraction in his thoughts, unprovidedly and amazedly answering suitors, or not hearing. If I can judge any thing, he has left his heart among his father's women, with whom hee hath liberty of conversation. Normahall, in the English coach,* the day before visited him, and took leave; she gave him a cloack all imbroydered with pearles, diamonds, and rubies, and carried away, if I erre not, his attention to all other businesse."

When the Rev. Mr. Terry, who had been sent out from England, arrived in India, he proceeded to join Sir Thomas, and brought with him a considerable convoy of necessaries for the ambassador, and presents to the padishaw. At Berhampore both Mr. Terry and his treasures were stopped by Shah Jehan, the future Great Mogul, who simply acted as a common robber, appropriating to himself whatever he desired, however necessary to the chaplain or the ambassador; in fact, whatever was not designated as a present for the emperor, his father, he made more or less a spoil for himself. Even the royal gifts were not sent on until the complaints of the ambassador to the padishaw led to the transmission of commands from the latter. When the treasures arrived at the camp of the emperor, the latter, no more honest than his son, seized the packages, opened and examined them, and would have retained them, had not the boldness and firmness of the ambassador either awed or shamed him. The great padishaw was then as despicable in his flattery and poor artifices of conciliation as he had previously been in his curiosity and cupidity.

With Aurungzebe the glory of the Moguls may be said to have departed. He was the last of the *Great* Moguls; and whatever the splendour of his career, it was equalled by his guilt: to his sire and king, treacherous, unfilial, and disloyal; to his brothers, deceitful and unnatural, ambitious, tyrannical, and unscrupulous, his name and life are stains upon the reputation of Mohammedan India.

The rise, progress, and decline of the Mahrattas, related on their appropriate pages in this History, further exemplify the sanguinary, tyrannical, and unprincipled character of Indian chiefs, heathen and Mohammedan; for the struggles of those times, whether Moslem or Hindoo bore the sword in triumph, reveal the blood-thirsty, rapacious, and perfidious character of all Indian courts and peoples. The stratagems, excesses of cruelty, and breaches of faith, practised by the Mohammedan emperors towards the Mahratta chiefs, and the wild lawlessness and violence of the latter, form a strange chapter in Indian and in human history.

It has been sometimes argued against the wisdom and humanity of the East India Company's administration that frequent famines have prevailed, from the like of which the people of India were exempt during the Mohammedan rule. This is simply false as to the period of Mohammedan sway. One of the few redeeming features of the character and conduct of Aurungzebe was his solicitude to mitigate the horrors of a famine which broke out during his reign, from which, nevertheless, multitudes perished. The same causes which operated in producing these terrible visitations during the sway of the East India Company also existed during that of the various Mohammedan dynasties. Notwithstanding the devotion of their subjects, especially when a sense of religious obligation existed, Mohammedan princes, whether petty rajahs, or seated on the throne of empire, have been often heartlessly indifferent to the welfare of the people, whom they professed to be bound by the most sacred ties of religion and political duty to protect and cherish. To the Hindoos they were generally fiercely intolerant. Aurungzebe especially illustrates this fact. His father was often forbearing, his grandfather indifferent, on religious matters, but Aurungzebe himself, with less religion than either, was a persecutor. The fiercest robber of the Mahrattas was in many things more to be commended than Aurungzebe. The code of military honour that prevailed among that rude and low caste people was much higher than what was practised or acknowledged at the court and camp of the emperor. The people of all classes groaned beneath the sway of the most glorious of the Moguls. Raj Singh of Odeypore described the true condition of the people when he addressed the emperor in these terms:—"Your subjects are trampled under foot, and every province of your empire is impoverished; depopulation spreads, and difficulties accumulate; the soldiers are murmuring; the merchants complaining; the Mohammedans discontented; the Hindoos destitute; and multitudes of people, wretched, even to the want of their nightly meal, are beating their heads throughout the day from destitution. How can the dignity of the sovereign be preserved who employs his power in exacting tribute from a people thus miserably reduced?"* This state of things was not so very different from what existed under others, even the most magnificent of the Moguls, as to require much variety in describing the condition of their subjects; yet it suits the purpose of certain parties and classes in England to degrade their country by lowering British rule and British rulers in

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* An English carriage which was presented by Sir Thomas to the emperor, and which, he relates, cost one hundred and fifty pounds.

* Orme's *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire.*

India to the level of Mohammedan princes and the despotism which they exercised.

The architectural taste and zeal displayed by some of the Mohammedan princes are justly entitled to praise. It should, however, be understood that an intense fanaticism led them to lavish upon gorgeous mosques the wealth plundered from heathen temples. The injunctions of the Koran caused a vast expenditure upon tombs; hence the resting-place of the dead is peculiarly dear to the Mohammedan, and is exhibited in this age as well as by the remains of past centuries. Whether in the care bestowed upon the turbaned tombs of Smyrna and Stamboul, or in the costly tombs reared for their deceased relatives by modern princes, the Mohammedans prove their veneration for their beloved dead. In the crisis of his ruin, the heir of the fallen house of Oude built in 1858 a beautiful tomb at Paris, in the picturesque burial-ground of Père-la-Chaise, for his mother.

The pride of power, as well as religious and filial piety, originated many of the great structures of Mohammedan India. The palatial glories of Ghizni, Delhi, Agra, and Lucknow, had their origin in the towering ambition and love of despotic splendour characteristic of Mohammedan kings and conquerors.

The means for executing the vast and brilliant works which were accomplished in the Mohammedan ages of India, were found in the oppressive taxation or plunder of the people. Frequently the costly glories of the rajahs caused such extensive suffering among even the Mohammedan people, that sedition and bloodshed ensued; or, in spite of the dazzling results, the gorgeous rulers were cursed in the midst of the glittering cities they created or decorated with a taste so ornate and peculiar. It was in the countries of India subject to Mohammedan power, with rare exceptions, as it is in Turkey to-day, where the extravagance of the court is maintained amidst the decay of the empire, humiliation of the government, and imminent perils of the state. The following quotation from the Constantinople correspondent of a London journal presents, in the state of the sultan's court and government, a striking illustration of the way in which mighty festivals and enterprises of grandeur in Mohammedan India, were proofs of weakness, of the presence of elements of social and political decline, and of the inherent viciousness and self-destroying tendency of that especial form of political despotism which the Mohammedan religion creates. The communication was made from Constantinople in August, 1858.

"'The sultan's expenditure has increased, is increasing, and ought to be cut down.' Such is the universal cry which resounds through the whole empire. The minister, who is at the end of his wits and financial legerdemains, whispers it with a sigh; the *employé*, who gets paid in paper, murmurs it cautiously; the army, which is months—not to say years—in arrear, raises it loudly; the people, who see the sweat of their brows squandered, utter it indignantly; and even the usurer, who makes a fortune by this recklessness, afraid of the consequences, has begun to join in it clamorously. Never was the *vox populi* more clearly heard, and never was it more justly raised. Before it all mincing and delicacy would be out of place. It is high time to speak out plainly, and expose the cancer which is consuming the vital forces of this empire. There is no secret about it, for it has become table-talk, and the evil has reached such a point, that, unless some remedy be found for it, the most serious consequences must follow.

"No sovereign in Europe has a larger civil list than the Sultan of Turkey. According to the last arrangement, made about two years ago, it amounts to £1,200,000 sterling in round numbers, which surpasses by far that of any other sovereign, if we compare it with the whole revenue of the empire, which is between £7,000,000 and £8,000,000 sterling. However formidable this proportion must appear to European minds, it might pass without comment in a country which might have the cheapest administration of any if it were strictly adhered to. But this civil list represents only the nominal expenditure of the palace. In reality, the latter knows no bounds except the impossibility of finding money. As the revenues come in the civil list lays its hand on them, under the title of 'advances,' which are never repaid; and, if this resource fails, loans are contracted, for which the government becomes answerable. The consequences of this system, which has been going on for the last five years, are of course felt. A considerable part of the revenues has been anticipated; both the military and naval departments are in arrear; in the army alone a sum of well-nigh a million of money is owing; the officials have been paid for the last two months in treasury bonds, which had to be discounted at seven per cent. loss against paper money, which was itself at a discount of sixty to seventy per cent. against coin. At the beginning of this year two millions' worth of these treasury bonds had to be issued to pay the most urgent debts of the civil list, and in spite of all this the obligations of this department are estimated at more than twice that amount;

articles of the first necessity required for the palace are left unpaid-for for months; and most of the jewels have taken a pilgrimage to one or other wearer, and are hawked about by the brokers. All these miseries, instead of producing a lucid interval, seem only to heighten the folly of extravagance. While one set of jewels is pawned, another, richer, is bought on credit from adventurous individuals. Two nuptials were celebrated this year, for which the bill will not fall far short of from £700,000 to £800,000 sterling, and two others are under consideration which will not cost much less.

"Besides, and far above all this, stands the building mania. If the thing were not patent it would be incredible, but at this moment no less than eight palaces and five kiosks and other smaller buildings are in process of construction. Among the first is the new palace of Tcheragan, on the spot where the old wooden building stood, and for which the estimate amounts to £2,500,000; a palace near it for guests of distinction; two palaces for the newly-married daughters at Sali Bazaar; another for the eldest sultana at Arnaut Koi, for which several large pieces of ground had to be bought at an extravagant price; one at Arnaut Koi for the two daughters of the late Fethi Ahmed Pasha; one at Kandili for the sister of the sultan; and one which is to grace or disgrace the shores of Therapia. Of the five kiosks one is at the old seraglio, on the spot where the old one was burnt down; another on the top of the hill of Tcheragan; another at the Sweet Waters of Asia; and a music-hall and theatre, which are almost finished, at the new palace of Dolma Bakshi. These buildings, if they are now completed, will cost at least from £8,000,000 to £10,000,000 sterling. You will naturally ask, How could this evil attain such a point without some one trying to stop it? The answer to it is simple. There is not sufficient union and moral courage in the leading men to do anything effectual. Nay, more than one man is responsible for having encouraged this recklessness to promote his own private interests.

"In 1845 the civil list was fixed by the sultan himself at about £500,000 sterling, and, in spite of this smaller revenue, the civil list was more than once enabled to make advances to the other departments. It is difficult enough to follow the changes which take place in the character of our most intimate friends; it is almost impossible to follow the changes in the mind of an absolute sovereign so removed from contact with the world as the sultan is. It may have been the habit of uncontrolled power, or bad counsels, or false ideas suggested by flatterers; at any rate, a great change has taken place. In the continual rivalry between the competitors for power he had full liberty to follow a growing disposition for extravagance. Anxious to secure their places, those in office took good care not to jeopardize their position by an untimely resistance, while those out of power thought of coming in by showing the necessary pliancy. Thus a disposition, which, perhaps, might have been stopped in the beginning, was developed until it has led to such appalling results. This could go on as long as there was a possibility of meeting the demands; but the thing has lately assumed such proportions, that the ministry, despairing of being able to do so, decided on making an attempt to check it.

"The first step took place some weeks ago, when a memorandum, signed by all the ministers, was given in, to ask for a reduction of the pay of divers functionaries, and for the abolition of certain other posts which were unnecessary. This was a measure affecting only indirectly the expenditure of the palace. It had become the habit to send away palace officials, and order a place to be given to them in some government office. The councils attached to the different departments were by this means augmented to an enormous extent, without gaining thereby in efficiency. Each of these councils ought to have six members and a secretary, and most of them have now from twenty to thirty, and every one of them is paid at the rate of £2000 to £3000 a year. It was represented that a great saving could be effected by the suppression of such a number of useless officials, and that consequently more money could be made available for the purposes of government. The representation was graciously received, and an answer promised. A few days after the minister of finance was called in, and informed that his majesty had a running account with his French *fournisseur*, who had furnished the new palace, and was now finishing the theatre. His account was one hundred and fifty thousand purses, or about £500,000, of which one-third was to be paid now, and it was hoped the faithful minister would provide the necessary sum. The next day a loan of sixty million piastres was hawked about Galata, and part of the sum found."

This account so strikingly exhibits the character of the sovereigns, courts, and people in Mohammedan India during the waning splendour of their power, that it is scarcely possible for the philosopher and the politician to avoid seeing that like causes produced the effects so strikingly displayed at Constantinople now, and formerly in the great Moslem capitals of India.

Whatever may have been the magnificence of the Mohammedan courts in India, the people seldom caught the infection. Few buildings of magnitude or taste, except mosques and tombs, and occasionally tanks, were erected anywhere by the citizens or zemindars. In this respect also the western Mohammedan nations exemplify the condition of India from the advent of the first hordes of Saracen robbers to the fall of the last of the Moguls. Occasionally the architectural enterprise of particular princes would spread as an infection among the people, and buildings for private enjoyment would spring up, resembling in their degree those erected by the monarch, but no lasting impressions of taste and skill remained as the result. When Mahmood of Ghizni expended in that place in a manner so gorgeous the vast plunder he brought thither from India proper, his people emulated his splendour and architectural ambition, but the effort was fitful, and the community soon collapsed into the coarse apathy and sensual sloth from which Mohammedan peoples are seldom aroused but by the voice of fanaticism, and the lust of carnage, which their fanaticism so deeply fosters.

The condition of the kingdom of Oude, previous to its annexation under the administration of Lord Dalhousie, was, with all its tyranny, corruption, and anarchy, a correct representation of the tendencies of Mohammedan government, and bore a family resemblance to the Mohammedan states throughout India, ancient and modern. Sir W. H. Sleeman, who had opportunities of becoming well acquainted with Oude, its court, land tenures, talookdars, soldiery, and people, represents rapacity and corruption as reigning everywhere. The extravagance of the court, the oppressive collection of taxes, the remorseless tyranny of the feudal chiefs and officers of government, as he describes them, corresponds so closely with the records of the Mohammedan people in the annals handed down to us, even by the hands of "the faithful," as to make it wonderful how the power of Mohammedan dynasties and governments held so tenacious an existence in regions where so large a portion of the inhabitants hated its sway. Notwithstanding exceptional instances of good government, and impartial administration of justice, the general current of Mohammedan affairs resembled that which had so long prevailed in Oude until the suppression of its native government. The officer* just named gives an instance of the anarchy, cruelty, treachery, and faithless government of that ancient kingdom, illustrating the condition of the people of India under the yoke of Islam during the greater portion of the Mohammedan period. In a particular district Sir William met with a certain nizam, a rajah (of Bulrampore), and a banker, one Ramdut Pandee. The nizam by his extravagance became a debtor to the banker for a large amount, but requiring more, he invited the money-lender to his camp, and with him the Rajah of Bulrampore. The sequence is thus related by General Sleeman:—"The nizam and Ramdut talked for some time together, seemingly on the most friendly and cordial terms; but the nizam at last asked him for a further loan of money, and further securities for landholders of doubtful character, before he went to bathe. The banker told him that he could lend him no more money till he came back from bathing, as he had lent him eighty thousand rupees only the day before, and that he could not increase his pledges of security without further consultation with the landholders, as he had not recovered more than four out of the seven lacs of rupees which he had been obliged to advance to the treasury on the securities given for them during the last year. He then took leave, and rose to depart. The nizam turned, and made some sign to his deputy, Jafir Allee, who rose, presented his gun, and shot Ramdut through the right side, close under the armpit. Exclaiming, '*Ram, Ram!*' (God, God!) the banker fell, and the nizam, seizing and drawing the sword which lay on the carpet before him, cut the fallen banker across the forehead. His nephew and deputy drew theirs, and together they inflicted no less than twenty-two cuts upon the body of Ramdut. The banker's three attendants, seeing their master thus shot down, and hacked to pieces, called out for help; but one of the three ruffians cut Towahir, the Brahmin lad, across the shoulder with his sword, and all ran off and sought shelter across the border in British territory. The nizam and his attendants then buried the body hastily near the tent, and ordered the troops and artillery to advance towards and fire into the two camps. They did so; and the Bulrampore rajah had only just reached his tents when the shot came showering in upon them from the nizam's guns. He galloped off as fast as he could towards the British border, about twenty miles distant, attended only by a few mounted followers, some of whom he sent off to Bulrampore, to bring his family, as fast as possible, across the border to him. The rest he ordered to follow him. His followers, and those of the

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* *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude.* By Sir W. H. Sleeman.

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED

murdered banker, fled before the nizam's forces, which had been concentrated for this atrocious purpose, and both their camps were plundered. Before the rajah fled, however, the murdered banker's son-in-law, who had been left in the camp, ran to him with a small casket, containing Ramdut's seals, the bond for the eighty thousand rupees, as also the written pledges given by the nizam and his commanding officers of corps for the banker's and the rajah's personal security. He mounted him on one of his horses, and took both him and the casket off to the British territory." After these transactions the nizam attacked the banker's villages, and plundered from them property to the value of £100,000. He then complained to the King of Oude that the banker had attacked and plundered him, and was rewarded by the chief potentate of the realm for his good conduct by presents of honour! Soon after the nizam was defeated by the banker's brother, and became a fugitive, but found by bribery at the court of Lucknow protection and immunity. Thus, in every part of India, and in every century since it was invaded by the Saracens, the Mohammedan rule has been a curse to the people, socially and politically, as it has been in every other part of the world subjected to its baleful power. In sweeping away idolatry, and, to a certain extent, in abolishing caste, the religion of the false prophet was better than that which it superseded; but its inexorable tyranny, and that of the political system it fostered, crushed the people, deluged the land with blood, and familiarized those dignified as "true believers" with rapine, treachery, and injustice, in every form.

The conduct of the princes to one another, whether rulers of great states or petty rajahs, was utterly perfidious. The rules of the Koran, which obliged them to do justice, and show hospitality and alliance to princes of their own faith, were so loosely laid down, that great latitude of interpretation was a consequence, and this was stretched to the uttermost by the kings and rajahs of India. The moral obligations of their religion being so propounded, and of such a nature as not to press very sternly upon conscience, every advantage was taken of this fact by those sovereigns who affected or felt religious principle. There are no cruelties recorded upon the page of history as practised by monarchs against monarchs, which have not been rivalled by those of India, and generally the latter far surpass in atrocity the most appalling deeds perpetrated by the most ruthless tyrants in any other part of the world. The history of the various dynasties recorded in previous chapters reveals a sad narrative of turpitude and faithlessness on the part of many of the proudest, and, religiously, the most zealous of the princes of Islam, to one another. No treachery appears to have been too base for a Mohammedan king, zealous for his religion, to practise against another equally zealous; and when war decided their relations to one another, as victor and vanquished, with a few generous exceptions, the former exacted from the latter the most shameful humiliations, and inflicted cruelties, from the mention of which humanity shudders. Here again we perceive the genius of Mohammedanism in India, illustrated by its phenomena in more western regions. The history of the sovereigns of Turkey, Egypt, and Persia, during the memory of living men, has displayed the same utter want of principle, where honour, treaty, and the most sacred pledges, given on the Koran, might have been expected to bind; and the same cruel disposition has been shown so far as the nature of the events, and the proximity of the rival sultans and pashas to Europe, permitted. During the wars of the present century between Turkey and Russia, the latter succeeded in forming alliances with various Asiatic chiefs, who treacherously sold their allegiance, and inflicted upon the loyal who fell into their hands, in defiance of the Koran, all manner of indignities and cruelties. The habit of mind which the religion of the Arabian prophet begets in his votaries, of hating all who differ from them in religion with an implacable and remorseless enmity, extends itself to all who differ from them in any way politically or socially, and even to such as have opposing commercial interests; and thus Mohammedan is made to suffer from Mohammedan in the result of the spirit of hatred so keenly nursed in the bosom of every Mussulman to members of an alien creed. There is a moral retribution thus brought home to the abettors of this most bigoted of all religions, showing in a striking manner the retributive principle of God's moral government, which brings upon every man, or association of men, the consequences of the evils they perpetrate upon others. As the electric spark travels back by the quickest media to the spot from which it issued, so the hostilities and evil deeds of men come back again, under the influence of another law, not less sure, to their own breasts.

The spirit of the Mohammedan invaders, and the consequences of their invasion, have been thus faithfully described by an old author:*—"The invasions of the Mogul Tartars overturned the Hindoo empire, and

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* *Sketches of the History, &c., of the Hindoos.* London, 1792.

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besides the calamities which immediately attend conquest, fixed on succeeding generations a lasting train of miseries. They brought along with them the spirit of a haughty superstition; they exacted the conversion of the vanquished; and they came to conquer and to remain. The success of the first invaders invited many to follow them; but we may consider the expedition of Tamerlane as that which completed the ruin of the Hindoo government. Wherever he appeared he was victorious; neither Mussulman nor Hindoo could resist his fortune, nor could any one who opposed him expect mercy. The march of his army was marked with blood, from the banks of the Attock to the eastern side of the Ganges, and from thence back by a different route to Samarcand. The disappearance of this angry meteor was followed by a long scene of warfare among the Mohammedan invaders themselves."

It has been the fashion of late years with a certain class of writers, especially in connection with the periodical press, to laud the policy of the Mohammedan rulers of India towards the vanquished Hindoos. The foregoing chapters, written with impartiality, disclose a different state of things, even when the settled government of the conquerors had existed for centuries, and there was no prospect of any extensive revolt. It is true that some of the wisest of the settled monarchs of the various dynasties brought in by the sword were just and tolerant to the Hindoo population. During the long reign of Akbar this was to a great extent the case. "He endeavoured," said the author last quoted, "to correct the ferocity of his co-religionists; was indulgent to the religion and customs of the Hindoos; and wishing to revive the learning of the Brahmins, which had been persecuted as profane by the ignorant Muftis, he ordered the celebrated observatory at Benarés to be repaired, invited the Brahmins to return to their studies, and assured them of his protection."

Although there are other instances of the haughty princes of the new faith not only showing tolerance to Hindooism, but appearing to sympathize with it personally, they were generally restrained by the fanatical spirit of the people, and thus, against their own judgment, driven into an intolerant and inhuman policy by the multitude of "the faithful." The mild enactments of Akbar excited a deep jealousy in the minds of his subjects of his own creed. Elphinstone,* beyond all comparison the best authority generally on the condition of Mohammedan India and its history, says, "Akbar's innovations had shocked most Mohammedans, who, beside the usual dislike of the vulgar to toleration, felt that a direct attack was made upon their own faith." It is doubtful whether the tolerant spirit of some of the Mussulman sovereigns was any mitigation of the miserable state of the Hindoos under their yoke, for the indulgence thus shown them provoked the bigotry of the mass of the conquering race, who left no opportunity unused that might otherwise have passed, for purposes of indignity and injury against the subject people. Elphinstone represents the toleration of Akbar as affecting the throne of his successors, and for generation promoting civil war among them, as well as inciting the furious fanaticism of their more immediate subjects.

In the journal of Sir Thomas Roe this fact in reference to the celebrated Jehanghire is fully brought out. The hypocrisy of the monarch in the toleration he affected, the prostitution of religion to ends merely political, the jealousy of his own children, the utter want of confidence between him and the heir to the throne, and the shrewd recognition in his policy of the relentless bigotry of his people, are all characteristic of the Mohammedan princes and policy in India. Sir Thomas, after alluding to the lax opinions of Akbar on this subject, who at one time contemplated establishing a new religion, with himself as its head, observes that Jehanghire, "being the issue of this new fancie, and never circumcised, bred up without any religion at all, continues so to this houre, and is an atheist." He describes him as very liberal, not only in his own opinions, but towards those of others, and with an equal dislike to proselytism and apostasy. "He is content with all religions, only he loves none that changeth." He is represented as observing all the festivals of the Hindoos, and invariably paying marked respect to the Christian doctrines, granting perfect freedom of worship; ample privileges to the ministers and followers of that faith, both Protestant and Catholic, and frequently encouraging disputations between the professors of different creeds, "often casting out doubtfull words of his conversion, but to wicked purpose." He further mentions that Jehanghire sent two of his own nephews to a school kept at Agra for some years by Francisco Corsie, a Portuguese priest, where they were not only taught the Portuguese language, but instructed in the Christian religion, and finally "were solemnly baptized in the church of Agra with great pomp, being carryed first up and down all the citie on elephants in triumph, and this by the king's expresse order, who often would examine them? in their progression, and seemed much contented in them." Sir Thomas adds, however, that many considered this a measure of policy intended to render the young princes, who might at any time become rivals and aspirants for the throne, odious, and incapacitated for government, in the eyes of a Mohammedan population.*

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* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 521.

The history of the sovereigns, votaries of Islam, viewed in relation to one another, and to their people, verified the just remarks—"Under a despotic monarch, while the liberty and life of the subject are constantly exposed to danger, the crown totters on the head of the monarch; he who is the most absolute is frequently the least secure; and the annals of Turkey, of Persia, and of the Mohammedan conquerors of Hindostan, teem with tragic stories of dethroned and murdered princes."† It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the lust of conquest for its own sake, and of rapine, the iconoclastic spirit of the conquerors, and the fanatical enthusiasm they entertained for the spread of their religion, they were never able entirely to subjugate the native communities. What was described as the case three-quarters of a century ago was true when the British wrenched, during the recent rebellion, the remnant of power from the Moslem tyrants. "Throughout Hindostan there are many rajahs to be found who still enjoy the territories of their ancestors. Some, happily, never were subdued, and owe their independence to the natural situation of their possessions, which renders invasion difficult. Others were permitted, from policy or necessity, to retain them on condition of paying a stipulated tribute."

One of the causes of the ultimate decline of the Mohammedan rulers, as will be shown in those chapters which record the European period, especially during the progress to power of the British, was the want of good faith always cherished, and sometimes openly displayed to the Europeans. The Portuguese had many pretexts afforded to them for cruelty and rapacity by the breach of engagements by princes with whom in peace and war they came in contact. The Dutch had fewer transactions with the rajahs, and managed with better policy than the Portuguese, but they also found the sirdars faithless. The British are frequently accused by writers among themselves of having acted without faith to Mohammedan princes from whom they had experienced justice and truth, and from whom they had every reason to expect such virtues. That some of the agents of the British government stood no higher than the Mohammedan rajahs in political morality is, unfortunately, too true, and that presidential governors, the governor-general at Calcutta, the East India Company, and the British cabinet, have all in turn not only erred in judgment, but proved themselves deficient in justice and candour, are facts, unhappily, beyond dispute; but such impeachments were of exceptional application, while the rule of Mohammedan government, as well as of heathen government, in India, was unprincipled and perfidious. This was shown in the treatment of the first English ambassador by the Great Mogul in the beginning of our Indian career, and recently by the reckless violation of treaty and honourable obligation by the King of Oude, whose deposition was one cause of the violent catastrophe which befel India in our own time. A glance at the treatment received by a British ambassador from the Great Mogul and his heir, has already been given in this chapter. The reader desirous of following out the subject can have further proof by consulting Purchas* and Churchill.† Astonishment may well be felt upon the perusal of these and other true narratives of the spirit and character of Mohammedan princes, that the British were able to maintain with them any alliances, treaties, or negotiations whatever. In a letter directed to the company by Sir Thomas Roe, a brief but correct picture is given of the utter want of honour and truth which he found in the emperor to whom he was accredited, and in the princes, one of whom soon ascended the imperial throne. Sir Thomas also shows the general spirit of insolence as well as chicanery which, towards Europeans especially, pervaded the Mogul court. "This I repeate for instruction, to warne the company, and him that shall succede me, to be very wary what they send may be subject to no ill interpretation, for in that point this king and people are very pregnant and scrupulous, full of jealousie and trickes. . . . . I must plead against myself that an ambassador lives not in fit honour here. I would sooner die than be content with the slavery the Persian is content with. A meaner agent would, amongst these proud Moors, better effect your business. My qualitie often for ceremonies either begets you enemies or suffers unworthilie. The king has often demanded an ambassadour from Spain, but could never obtain one, for two causes: first, because they would not give presents unworthy their king's greatness; next, they knew his reception should not answer his qualitie. I have moderated according to my discretion, but with a swollen heart. *Half my charge shall corrupt all to be your slaves.*"

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* *Calcutta Review.*

† *History of Hindostan.* 1792.

* *Purchas his Pilgrimes.* London, St. Paul's Churchyard, at the sign of the "Rose." 1625.

† Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels.* London, at the "Golden Ball," Paternoster Row. 1744.

The Mohammedan people, in spite of the policy of several of their princes, never amalgamated with the Hindoos. Their habits and customs were always distinct, and so even were the callings which they pursued, when choice influenced the selection. "The Hindoos are the only cultivators of the land, and the only manufacturers. The Mohammedans who came into India were soldiers, or followers of a camp, and even now are never to be found employed in the labours of husbandry or the loom." Such was the testimony of an observer written before the present century, and it is still extensively borne out. The mutiny and insurrection of 1857 may lead persons to conclude that there is at present some affinity between the two races. That there is a nearer approach than formerly in their manners and customs is a fact which all recent authorities announce; but the mutiny would be a deceptive indication of the like, for it was the union of two dissimilar peoples for a common object—a political phenomenon known in all ages. The Mohammedans scorned the Hindoos too much to amalgamate with them, and their hatred was as keen as their contempt. Bigotry and fanaticism appear to have been the chief elements of this disdain and hostility, and in the reluctance to assimilate which proved so stubborn. The Hindoos, servile and crafty, soon learned to look on the bold and rude Mohammedans as their natural masters: even the Brahmin regarded them with awe; his demeanour giving expression to the words of Goldsmith—

> "Pride in their port, defiance in their eye,
> I see the lords of human kind pass by,
> Intent on high designs."

The opposition of the Hindoo to the Mohammedan, religiously and politically, was, for the most part, passive but not the less obstinate. "The thorough amalgamation of the Hindoo faith with the whole national and individual life rendered speedy conversion impossible, and made it clear that by violence alone could any empire over the people of Hindostan be obtained and preserved. Thus was the spread of Mohammedanism in India slower and more difficult than anywhere else, long after it had made a lodgment within the territory; the lapse of time tending, meanwhile, to relax the forces of fanaticism, and to turn the warriors of the Prophet from apostles into politicians and princes."*

The genius of custom often keeps separate contiguous people, and even citizens or subjects of the same state who are brought into close and constant contact. This was the case in India throughout the Mohammedan period. "The Hindoo dwelling of bamboo, with its curved thatched roof, and placed, if possible, apart and under trees, contrasted with the Mohammedan cottage or house of clay, or unburnt brick, or stone, with its terraced roof. The Hindoo swathed himself in two scarfs of white cotton or muslin, rubbed his skin with oil, eat rice, thought his lank hair and moustaches a sufficient covering for his head, was conscious of the grace and suppleness of his carriage, and delighted in conversation and indolent and frivolous amusement, while yet his cast of character was quiet and thoughtful. The Mohammedan, on the other hand, covered his head with a turban, and wore trousers, tunic, ornaments, and arms; tiled his roof; ate wheaten bread (unleavened); shut up the women of his family, and was not much of a talker in society. The Hindoo village had always a bazaar, a market day, and an annual fair; one temple and one guest-house, where the wayfarer might find shelter. Each hut and each mansion had its mat, its earthern pot and dishes, its pestle and mortar, and baking plate, and its shed for cooking. The husbandman prayed and went forth at dawn with his cattle to the field; his wife brought him his hot dinner at noon, and his evenings were spent in smoking and amusement. The women meantime had been grinding and cooking, washing, spinning, and fetching water. In the towns, the tradesmen and artizans lived in brick or stone houses, with shops open to the streets. The bazaar loungers—mendicant priests, smoking soldiers, and saucy bulls which lorded it over everybody—distinguished the towns where the Hindoos predominated; and so did the festivals in which the townspeople took at one draught the pleasure which the villagers spread over all their evenings. The observances at death and burial were unlike those of the conquering race. The Hindoos burned their dead, except those belonging to religious orders; and they seldom or never set up tombs, except to warriors fallen in battle, or widows burned with their husbands. When Leedes was at Delhi, widows were not allowed to sacrifice themselves. In almost every other case, Hindoo observances were carefully cherished by Akbar, and Mohammedan peculiarities subordinated to them."*

In spite of the efforts of Akbar, the contrast in customs and manners continued, and even where in many respects the same habits were adopted, and the same jubilee festivals enjoyed, the spirit and feeling of the two peoples remained distinct. Thus was it when the commercial enterprise of the Portuguese led them to the realms of such reputed wealth, and when afterwards their rivals, the Dutch, entered upon the same field of aggrandizement and ambition. When the French and English measured swords on the plains and coasts of India they were struck with the same contrast; and though under the dissolving power of English influence there has been more blending of the customs of the two races as they stooped together to mightier conquerors, yet the broad marks of distinction remain. The hand of England has lifted up the debased Hindoo in the presence of his oppressor, and has forced the latter aside from the path of his tyranny; but except as both may desire the removal of the constraining power, they have no identity of feeling, no sympathy in religion, no kindred of race, no sympathy of nationality. Freed from the controlling power of Great Britain, heathen and Mohammedan India would break loose again, and only mingle as when separate torrents meeting, the stronger sweeps the weaker onward in its more voluminous current. Christianity and infidelity are mighty solvents of all superstitions, and both are now at work in India with an activity which must bring to pass ultimate changes which few contemplate. Before these two powers, Brahminism and Mohammedanism must together perish. The signs of this great transition are two significant for any persons acquainted with India to doubt its advent. The final struggle in India and everywhere will be between the two most potent principles, Christianity and Infidelity. That Christianity will triumph reason and revelation assure us; but, nevertheless, long after the follies and wickedness of Hindoo mythology shall have perished, and the crescent and scimitar shall have ceased to be the symbol and the instrument of a sanguinary and tyrant creed, infidelity and Christianity shall wage their warfare within the confines of those wide-spread and glorious realms. Faith and hope alike teach us to exclaim, "*Magna est veritas et prævalebit.*"

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* Harriet Martineau.

* *British Rule in India.* By Miss Martineau.

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CHAPTER XLIV.

THE PARSEES: THEIR RELATION TO INDIAN HISTORY.

The Parsees have filled a part by no means unimportant in the history of India. In describing the religions of India, the creed and devotional practices of the Parsees were shown, and in the account given of the presidency, island, and city of Bombay, more particular notice was taken of the social peculiarities and position of that people. Several learned Parsees have demurred to those descriptions of their religious opinions and observances, but both have been stated with unswerving fidelity. It has been objected, that the Parsee people do not worship the sun or fire, as is stated in this History, but only pay them a relative honour, as the symbols and representatives of the divine nature and presence. The talented author of *The Parsees, their History, Manners, Customs, and Religion*, Mr. Dosabhoy Framjee, has, in conversation with the writer of these lines, strongly objected to such a representation of the Parsee religion; but he has nevertheless confessed, what his published views also show, that whatever may be the devotional exercises of the more enlightened members of that profession, the mass of those who are in communion with it pay an idolatrous worship to the sun and to fire,—to the former in the great temple of nature, and to the latter in the temples erected for Parsee devotion. Anxious to present truth impartially, and entertaining a high respect for the intelligence, enterprise, and loyalty of our Parsee fellow subjects in India, it is desirable to offer confirmation of the picture of the devotees of the sun, drawn in a previous chapter, and at the same time to show the opinions entertained of that people by men eminent for knowledge in the history, literature, and political and social relations of India. It is the more important to do so, because of the growing importance of this people. The language of the manager of the *Bombay Times* is appropriate:—

"Of all the races inhabiting India, the Parsees are the most intelligent and energetic. Not trammelled by that cursed system of 'caste,' they are at liberty to trade in and inhabit all quarters of the globe, and follow whatever profession they think will be conducive to their advancement in life. They may justly boast that, upon the first opportunity the race has possessed for a thousand years of rising into eminence, they have proved themselves the worthy descendants of a renowned ancestry.

"Although insignificant in point of numbers, the Parsee community can never be absent from the European mind when contemplating the vast empire of India. The Parsee has been flatteringly described as the Saxon of the East, and, under the ægis of the just and enlightened rule of England, has entered with success into competition with the Saxon of the West in the meed for honourable distinction.

"The wealth acquired by the Parsees, we are proud to say, is rarely misspent. There are, of course, as in all communities, some who wisely hoard up their riches, while others squander away large fortunes in luxury and debauchery, without contributing a penny towards any charitable fund or object of public utility. But it cannot be denied that the majority of the Parsees are benevolent to a great degree; some even forget that charity begins at home, and are liberal beyond their means. The race has inherited this spirit of liberality from its ancestors, who were conspicuous for their love of charity. It is enough to show to a Parsee an object deserving of relief or support, and his purse is at once opened."

Dr. Hyde, in his work on the ancient religion of the Parsees, gives a picture of it with which most eminent writers on the subject concur, but which is somewhat too favourable for even the best periods of that religion, and which certainly would not apply to the superstitious views so generally held by Parsee devotees at present. "The Persians, from the beginning of their existence as a nation, always believed in only one and the same true and omnipotent God. They believed in all the attributes of the Deity believed by us; and God is called in their own writings, the Doer, the Creator, the Governor, and the Preserver of the world. They also believed that the Deity was eternal (without beginning or end) and omnipotent, with a great many attributes, which to enumerate particularly would be tedious. They also believed this Deity to be the judge of all men, and that there was to come a general resurrection of every man, to be judged and accounted according to his merits or demerits. And they also believed that God has prepared for the blessed a place of happiness called heaven or paradise. And as there was a heaven for the good, there was also a place of torture for the wicked (as may be proved from their old works), where they undergo a punishment for their faults and misdeeds. They acknowledged that they sinned daily, but proposed themselves to be penitent for all the sins committed by them either by thought, word, or deed."

Dean Prideaux, Sir William Ouseley, Hanway, Captain Pope, and many other writers of eminence, express themselves as strongly in favour of the monotheism and morality of Parseeism. It is, however, evident that the ancient theory of worshipping the Supreme Being as the light and life of the world, using the sun as his most glorious emblem, and when the sun was not in view using fire as the most appropriate representation, has become obsolete, the majority of the worshippers adoring the material media rather than the Being to whom they profess to look, or at all events associating them idolatrously with him in worship. And not only are the sun and fire linked with the Creator as objects of adoration, but the air, earth, and nature generally, are so adored as to make modern Parseeism pantheistical. This is often indirectly conceded by even the most partial writers, who extenuate these superstitions, and are carried away by the subtlety and beauty of ancient Zoroastrianism, to admire indiscriminately all the usages of modern Parsees. The Indian journals are in their business departments often in the hands of Parsees, and an influence over the press there is thus acquired, which has much conduced to the laudation of sun-worship, which has almost become fashionable with certain classes of European writers. Thus, in one of the numbers of the *Asiatic Journal* the following passage occurs:—"The observances paid to fire (it is unjust to call them worship) are only parts of a ritual which prescribes a similar respect for, and mention in prayers of, all the classes of animated nature, and some objects inanimate. The respect paid to fire is more prominent than the other parts of the ritual, inasmuch as that element is considered the terrestrial image of the Supreme Being."

Mrs. Postans, whose beautiful work on *Western India* has been quoted in a former chapter, was influenced by such representations to write in even stronger terms:—"I have used this title (fire-worshippers) in conformity with the popular English notion of Parsee worship; but the term is, I believe, quite unfounded. They do not worship either the elements or the heavenly bodies, being, in fact, pure Deists, and regarding the works of God's hand as to be reverenced only as proofs of the Divine power."

Were these descriptions exact, the practices of the Parsees would still fall under the Scripture denunciation of idolatry, which declares that it is incompatible with the pure worship of Jehovah for the worshipper to make to himself the likeness of anything that is in heaven above; the earth beneath, or the waters under the earth, either to worship them or bow down to them. God prohibits all religious honour to any creature whatsoever. The following passages from friends of the Parsees (of whom no writer has spoken more favourably than the author of this History) show that, however partially regarded, the religious customs of the modern Parsees are idolatrous, and, when they fall short of that degree of error, generally superstitious. Forbes* says, "These fires (the sacred fires of the Parsees) are attended day and night by the *andiaroos*, or priests, and are never permitted to expire. They are preserved in a large chafing-dish, carefully supplied with fuel, perfumed by a small quantity of sandal-wood or other aromatics. The vulgar and illiterate worship this sacred flame, as also the sun, moon, and stars, without regard to the invisible Creator; but the learned and judicious adore only the Almighty Fountain of Light, the Author and Disposer of all things, under the symbol of fire. Zoroaster and the ancient magi, whose memories they revere, and whose works they are said to preserve, never taught them to consider the sun as anything more than a creature of the great Creator of the universe: they were to revere it as His best and fairest image, and for the numberless blessings it diffuses on the earth. The sacred flame was intended only as a perpetual monitor to preserve their purity, of which this element is so expressive a symbol. But superstition and fable have, through a lapse of ages, corrupted the stream of the religious system, which in its source was pure and sublime."

Sir John Malcolm, in his *History of Persia*, declares that Zoroaster, the founder of the Parsee religion, taught that God existed from all eternity, and was like infinity of time and space. "There were, he (Zoroaster) averred, two principles in the universe—good and evil. Light was the type of good, darkness of the evil spirit; and God had said unto Zoroaster, 'My light is concealed under all that shines.' Hence the disciple of that prophet, when he prays in a temple, turns towards the sacred fire that burns upon its altar; and when in the open air, towards the sun, as the noblest of all lights, and that by which God sheds his divine influences over the whole earth, and perpetuates the works of his creation. . . . . His religion inculcated the worship of one immortal and beneficent Creator. Whatever might have been his (Zoroaster's) intention, his introduction of flame from an earthly substance, as the symbol of God, opened a wide door for superstition. There can be no doubt that the devotion intended for the Deity by Zoroaster has been given to the symbol by many of his followers, who have merited by such a practice the reproachful name of worshippers of fire."

Mr. Dosabhoy Framjee,* himself a Parsee, and the able advocate of his people both in India and in England, thus defends them from the charge of idolatry:—"The charge of fire, sun, water, and air worship has, however, been brought against the Parsees by those not sufficiently acquainted with the Zoroastrian faith to form a just opinion. The Parsees themselves repel the charge with indignation. Ask a Parsee whether he is a worshipper of the sun or fire, and he will emphatically answer, No. This declaration itself, coming from one whose own religion is Zoroastrianism, ought to be sufficient to satisfy the most sceptical. God, according to Parsee faith, is the essence of glory, refulgence, and light; and in this view, a Parsee, while engaged in prayer, is directed to stand before the fire, or to direct his face towards the sun, as the most proper symbols of the Almighty."

"All Eastern historians have acknowledged that the Persians, from the most early times, were no idolaters, but worshipped one God, the Creator of the world, under the symbol of fire, and such is also the present practice among their descendants in India."

In this strong denial of idolatrous or superstitious practices, Mr. Dosabhoy must be supposed as writing in behalf of the lettered and refined of his persuasion, for he has *viva voce* acknowledged to the author of this History that the vulgar have departed from what he considers the purity of their fathers in worship. In his work, already referred to, Mr. Dosabhoy makes admissions that seem to go farther than this, and to acknowledge a general prevalence of idolatry among the Parsee people, however some among them may abhor what they would themselves consider the worship of the creature, for, after describing the fundamental principles and early rites of his religion, he makes the following statements:—

"It is unnecessary to defend the morality or excellence of such sentiments as these; but many causes have operated to place the religion of the Parsees in a false light. A persecuted race, destitute of many of its sacred books, and coming in contact with a people highly jealous of their own religion, and to whom the slightest touch from one of another caste was a source of impurity, it was natural that the Parsees should have contracted, as time passed on, many of the practices of their neighbours.

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* *Oriental Memoirs.*

* Author of *The Company's Raj contrasted with its Predecessors*, a work published in Marathi and Gujerati, highly commended by Colonel Sykes, M.P.

"The first Parsees in India had of necessity to follow certain of the Hindoo practices, in order to secure the protection, assistance, and good-will of the Hindoo princes, in whose country they took refuge. Time rolled on, and succeeding generations of Parsees fell into the error that these borrowed practices were sanctioned by their own religion. 'Our forefathers did so,' and, according to Asiatic ideas, the children thought that their ancestors could do no wrong. The study of the few religious books which they had with them was not cultivated, for there were few learned men among the body. The result was that many of the usages, customs, practices, and prejudices of the Hindoos were received and acted upon by the Parsees. It is thus that we may easily explain how it is that an ignorant Parsee, or his wife, at the present day, sends an offering of a cocoa-nut to the *Holi*, or a cup of oil to the *Hunooman*, or cakes, sugar, and flowers to the sea.

"The Parsee punchayet some twenty-five years ago took steps with the view of eradicating such ceremonies and practices as had crept into their religion since their expatriation from Persia; but they did not succeed to the extent of their wishes with the majority of the people. Religious usages which the Parsees of India had observed for nearly twelve centuries could not be easily eradicated.

"What the punchayet failed to do by compulsory measures is now sought to be done by an appeal to the sense of the people. An association composed of many influential and wealthy Parsees, and a number of young and educated men of the race, was formed in the year 1852, under the title of the *Rahnumai Mazdiasna*, or Religious Reform Association, which has for its object the regeneration of the social condition of the Parsees, and the restoration of the Zoroastrian religion to its pristine purity.

"In the face of considerable opposition from the ignorant classes of the community, this association has done much good, and wrought considerable changes in the social condition of the Parsees. Essays, composed in language eloquent and impressive, showing the disadvantages resulting from adhering to practices and usages which really do not belong to the religion, are read in public meetings before a crowd of eager listeners. Pamphlets by thousands have been circulated among the people; and judging from present appearances, the efforts of this body seem to have had a beneficial influence on the minds of the people.

"The committee of the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Translation Fund lately contributed its quota to this much-desired object. An essay on the 'Origin and History of the Zend-Avasta, with an account of the investigations of European authors regarding the Zend books, with suggestions for enhancing religious education among the Parsees, and particularly among the priests,' was invited, and a prize of five hundred rupees, or fifty pounds, offered to the successful competitor."

The condition of the Parsee priesthood demands improvement: very few of them understand their liturgical works, although able to recite, parrot-like, all the chapters requiring to be repeated on occasions of religious ceremonies, for which services they receive the regulated fees, and from them mainly they derive a subsistence. The priesthood is an hereditary profession among the Parsees. The priest does not acquire a position from sacerdotal fitness or superior learning. Strictly speaking, he cannot be called a spiritual guide. The son of a priest is also a priest, unless he chooses to follow another profession, which is not prohibited to him. But a layman cannot be a priest. "The Parsee, religion does not, however, sanction this hereditary office; which is, indeed, contrary to the ancient law. The custom is merely derived from usage. Ignorant and unlearned as these priests are, they do not and cannot command the respect of the laity. The latter are more enlightened and educated than the former, and hence the position of the so-called spiritual guides has fallen into contempt. The consequence is that some of the priests have of late years given up a profession which has ceased to be honourable, and have betaken themselves to useful and industrious occupations, whilst a few have become contractors for constructing railroads in the Bombay Presidency. It is, however, very gratifying to notice an attempt that is now being made to impart a healthy stimulus to the priesthood for the study of their religious books. In memory of the late lamented high priest of the Kudmi sect of the Parsees, an institution, styled the 'Mulla Firoz Mudrissa,' has been established, under the superintendence of competent teachers. Here the study of Zend, Pehlvi, and Persian, is cultivated, and many of the sons of the present ignorant priests, it is confidently hoped, will occupy a higher position in the society of their countrymen than their parents now enjoy."

That a great reformation is going on from within among the professors of Zoroastrianism is pleasingly evident, not only to enlightened Parsees but to Europeans; still it ought not to be denied by either that superstition and idolatry prevail among the people, and the priests are the abettors of these things, and set an example calculated to encourage them.

The origin of this religion, and of the people who avow it, is well known to have been in Persia. The ancient creed of the Persians, like that of all other nations, was pure; it was that of the patriarchs recorded in the Old Testament. Gradually idolatry crept in: men, wise in their own conceit, strayed from the counsels of the All-wise, and adored what they conceived to be his likeness. The sun, moon, stars, and terrestrial elements, received from them a relative worship, as media through which the Jehovah revealed his glory. This was the early departure from truth among the ancient settlers in Hindostan, who probably carried it with them from Persia, or countries further west. In Persia the usual progress of error took place—the spiritual worship of the only one God was gradually lost in the material reverence paid to the more striking phenomena of nature; and the sun, the most glorious of them all, and fire, by which the sun itself was represented, became the objects of adoration. It would appear from the earliest historical evidence extant, that when Zoroaster appeared as a prophet in Persia, he was sincerely bent upon a great work of reformation. He desired to call back the people from the grosser forms of idolatry to a pure theism, but found such difficulty in his work that he yielded to expediency, making the chief objects of nature media of approaching the Divinity, and the luminary of day, by which the world was blessed with light and heat, the grand medium of devotion. It is evident that in the form his system ultimately took, and from the writings and traditions handed down by Zoroastrians from ancient times, he was much influenced by his notions of philosophy in his system of theology. He believed in the independent existence of a good principle and an evil principle eternally at war with one another, the good being destined ultimately to prevail by its own inherent and superior power. Light and darkness were made by him the emblems of these principles, and ultimately were regarded by the great majority of his followers as personalities. Zoroaster bore, in several respects, a resemblance to Mohammed in his personal character. Like the Arabian, he was sincere and earnest in his desire to sweep away the corruptions that prevailed, and especially the gross idolatry into which all, but especially the vulgar, had fallen. Like the Arabian also, he allowed expediency to prevail where principle should have been his only guide. He did not rely upon the force of truth, and the conviction of duty on his own part in respect to it, any more than the reformer of Arabia; but, anxious to enlist instruments of power and the prejudices of the vulgar in the accomplishment of what appeared to them to be a good purpose, they espoused principles, made pretensions, and employed agencies, incompatible with the grand objects they had originally in view—the love of mankind and the glory of the Supreme. It can scarcely be doubted by any one who studies the character and history of Mohammed, that he was at first a sincere reformer, that he put forth pretensions to divine authority under the influence of fanaticism and delusion, and that he ultimately became an impostor, feigning what he did not feel, professing what he did not believe, and imposing upon the credulity of his age. The course of Zoroaster was similar: he laid claim to a divine commission, which he might have supposed committed to him for a great purpose, but he eventually did not scruple to affirm what he knew to be false as to a divine inspiration. Even to the last Mohammed was as much deceived as a deceiver; a love of truth, and the practice of imposture, were strangely blended in the man, in a manner and to a degree which it is difficult to believe, and which probably no man could have supposed possible, if so many instances of the like had not been authenticated. Zoroaster was one of these, and one of the most striking. He believed and lied like the prophet of Mecca; he deceived and was self-deluded; he desired to propagate truths, and hesitated not to resort to fiction and falsehood for their propagation and support. The scripture philosophy of the natural character of fallen man can alone account for these paradoxes—"The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: who can know it?"

Zoroaster succeeded in filling Persia with his doctrines, from whence they spread to surrounding countries; and at this day, while his disciples in Persia are few, feeble, and persecuted, in British India they are increasing in numbers, intelligence, wealth, and influence, and are by far the most enlightened of its native population. The student of antiquity is aware that various persons went by the name of Zoroaster in different ages and nations, and hence the opinion that the name was originally assumed as expressive of a principle. Chaldea, Bactria, Pamphylia, Armenia, as well as Persia, are each said to have had eminent persons bearing this name. In a very learned and remarkable work, written by an Indian Parsee, Nurozjee Furdoonjee, translator and interpreter in her majesty's supreme court of Bombay, there is furnished the most extensive and complete evidence extant on this subject.* He proves that Zoroaster promulgated his philosophy and religion in Persia, in the sixth century before Christ, during the reign of Darius Hystaspes. This opinion had been pronounced by many authors† of eminence in Europe. He was born at the city of Rai, his father, named Poroshup, being a philosopher; his mother, Doghdo, being a person of singular excellence. The fables related of the parents of Zoroaster in Pehlvi works, in which he is termed Zurtosht, Zerdusht, and Zeratusht, and which are also related of the great lawgiver himself, are as numerous and absurd as those which the followers of Mohammed believe concerning him and his family. The Parsees themselves are not agreed as to the precise date of the birth of their prophet, but believe in many miraculous stories of his early life. The governors of the province in which he was born, hearing that his birth was predicted by an angel, sought to destroy him, but were baffled by "the good principle," in ways as wonderful as they were various. This story is evidently founded upon either the history of the persecution of the infant Christ by Herod, or the Old Testament prophecy concerning that event. According to the Pehlvi books (written at different times by the disciples of Zoroaster), he remained in his native town until he was thirty years of age, when he proceeded to the capital, and ten years afterwards he sought the presence of the king, Darius Hystaspes, or Gushtasp, as he is called in those writings. This, according to the chronology of the Pehlvi works, was the thirtieth year of the monarch's reign, and the fortieth of the life of Zurtosht. On that occasion the prophet bore with him to the foot of the throne the "Ader Boorzeen Meher," or sacred fire, and a cypress tree. The monarch having demanded his name and purpose, the so-called prophet replied:—"The Almighty God has sent me to you, and has appointed me a prophet to guide you in the path of truth, virtue, and piety. Learn the rites and doctrines of the religion of excellence, for without religion there cannot be any worth in a king. When the mighty monarch heard him speak of the excellent religion, he accepted from him the excellent rites and doctrines."

Such is the account given of the first interview between the prince and the assumed prophet, by Ferdousi, the poet, esteemed as the Homer of the Persians. The king, his prime-minister, and some of the *magi* or sages of the kingdom immediately embraced Zoroastrianism, notwithstanding much opposition from the gayer circles of courtiers. The prime-minister and chief counsellor of state became missionaries of the new faith, and travelling through Persia, backed by the king's authority, succeeded in winning the whole nation to their views. Efforts were made by the king and his chief ministers to extend to other countries a knowledge of this persuasion, and with success. According to ancient Persian authorities, Zoroaster produced sacred books called *Avasta*. These were written in the Zend language, the antiquity of which the Parsees maintain to be very great, so that it was an obsolete language in the reign of Darius Hystaspes. Philologists differ as to this claim to so great an antiquity, some maintaining that the Zend is derived from the Sanscrit, others ascribing to it an age as remote as that alleged by the Parsees. Mr. Framjee says that the language in which the Parsee scriptures are written, first originated in the province of Bactria. The Sanscrit, he maintains, "was first spoken in the country situated to the south of Bactria, or in the region bordering the north of Affghanistan, in the vicinity of the range of mountains known as the Hindoo Koosh, any similarity of these languages is accounted for by the proximity of the countries in which they originated, but it has never been satisfactorily proved that the Zend has been derived from the Sanscrit.

The celebrated Professor Bopp is of opinion that the Zend is a much more improved language than the Sanscrit, and is as old as the language of the Veds, which was composed three or four thousand years ago. This learned author, who has compiled a comparative grammar of several European and Asiatic classical languages on the basis of the Zend, says, "that the Zend displays that independence of the Sanscrit which Rask claims for it perhaps in too high a degree;" and adds that "we are unwilling to receive the Zend as a mere dialect of the Sanscrit, and to which we are compelled to ascribe an independent existence, resembling that of the Latin as compared with the Greek, or the old Northern with the Gothic. It in many respects reaches beyond, and is an improvement on the Sanscrit."

The books alleged by the Parsees to have been produced by their prophet were twenty-one in number; these are comprised under the general designation of *Avasta*. Most of these books are lost; their destruction is attributed to invaders. Alexander the Great, who, in his Persian conquests, is said by the Parsees to have been animated by an idolatrous hatred to their purer faith as professed and practised by their fathers, destroyed such as he could find; and the Arab Mohammedans, still more deadly foes to the faith of Iran, prosecuted a more complete search, and accomplished a more extensive destruction. Only a few of the sacred books survived. They are thus described, and their claims to antiquity thus asserted, by Mr. Dosabhoy:—

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* See *Tareekh-i-Zurtoshtee; or, Discussion on the Era of Zurtosht or Zoroaster.*

† Sir William Ouseley, Hyde, Anquetil, Kluker, Herder, Gorres, Von Hammer &c.

"They are the Vandidad, Yaçna, or Izashné, and Vispard. These three together are designated Vandidad Sade. Ogum Decha, Khurdah-Avasta, and the Yeshts, and fragments of Vistasp Noosk, Hadokht Noosk, and Damdad Noosk, are also to be found. The first, fourth, seventh, eighth, and ninth of these works are mostly filled with prescriptions for religious ceremonies and instructions for the practice of the Zoroastrian religion. They also contain injunctions for the adoration of the Almighty, and abound with moral precepts. The Izashné, Vispard, Khurdah-Avasta, and the Yeshts, are books of prayers.

"It may be mentioned here that the oldest manuscript copies now existing of the Vandidad and Izashné were deposited in the Royal Library at Copenhagen by Professor Erasmus Rask, who, in the year 1820, visited Bombay, and passed through Persia. The copy of the first-named work bears date the twenty-fourth day of the fourth month of the year of Yezdezard (692—*i.e.* A.D. 1323). The latter work is dated ten months later.

"In India the oldest manuscript copy of the Vandidad is to be found in the library of the late Mulla Feroze, High Priest of the Kudmi sect of the Parsees. Manuscript copies of these works are also deposited in the Imperial Library, Paris; in the University Library, Oxford; and in the British, as well the East India Company's, Museum, London. Professor N. L. Westergard, of Copenhagen, published an edition of the Vandidad Sade, in the Zend character, in the year 1854. Professor Spiegel has also published the Avasta in the original Zend text, together with the original Pehlvi translation, and is said to be preparing an English version of the same for the press.

"While enumerating the liturgical works of the Parsees now extant, it may be mentioned that it has been asserted by Richardson, Kennedy, Jones, and some other European authors, but without any satisfactory proof, that the Zend books of the Parsees were fabricated by the Parsee priests upon their arrival in India in the seventh century. Other orientalists are of opinion that they must have been written after the days of Ardeshir Babekan, who restored the religion of Zoroaster in the third century. The former hypothesis is utterly gratuitous. It is altogether improbable and beyond belief that a persecuted race of men, driven from their native country, and suffering vicissitudes of no ordinary kind,—refugees, indeed, flying for their lives,—could have compiled such elaborate works as the Vandidad, Vispard, and Izashné.

"On this point we have the opinion of a learned German author. Adelung, in his *Mithridates*, says, 'In the Zend some writings still exist which have been made known by Anquetil du Perron; and these, when the grounds on which their antiquity are maintained are duly considered, will be found to be the oldest works extant except those of the Hebrews and the poems of Homer.' Professor Rask has also maintained that the Zend was a living language, and the spoken language of Media, and that the Vandidad, as it exists, was written before the time of Alexander the Great.

"Dr. Bird, in his discourse on oriental literature, read at the anniversary meeting of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, in the year 1844, declares that 'Professor Rask supposes, with great probability, that it was the popular language at least of a great part of Iran, and not merely a sacred dialect introduced for religious purposes.' Professor Heeren declares that 'few remains of antiquity have undergone such attentive examination as the books of the Zend-Avasta. This criticism has, however, turned out to their advantage; the genuineness of the principal compositions of the ancient Persians has been demonstrated.'"

The early Mohammedan writers also testify to the existence of the Zend-Avasta.

The Parsees regard these writings as most sacred, and profess to regulate their lives by the lessons of purity they inculcate.

There appears to have been an ancient hostility of a religious nature between the ancient Persians and Greeks, the former hating the idolatry of the latter, while the Greeks regarded their antagonists as sceptical and profane. The classic writings of the Greeks throw little light on this subject; but some Persian authorities ascribe the great invasion of Greece by Xerxes to the hatred with which that monarch was inspired to idolatry. When Alexander subverted the Persian monarchy, Zoroastrianism began to decline, and continued to do so for a period of five and a half centuries, when a reformer arose, to whom the Parsees give the glory of having restored the ancient faith. This social regenerator was Ardeshir Babekan, whose work of revival began A.D. 226. This zealous religionist was monarch at that date. He collected the books written in the ancient Zend language, and had them translated into Pehlvi, the language then spoken throughout Persia. Fire-temples were erected by him, and the ancient glory of Zoroastrianism restored. The results of this great moral and ecclesiastical change lasted for four hundred and sixteen years, and was then extinguished by the Arabs A.D. 641. At that period the Arabs swept over the land of Persia, as the locusts over the fields and forests, destroying all that was verdant and fair. The Caliph Omar decided the destiny of the Persian monarchy and religion together at the battle of Nabravand, fought at the village of that name, about fifty miles from the ancient city of Ecbatana. The forces arrayed in the conflict, which was sanguinary and fierce, do not correspond with the results. The Persian army, although usually computed at a higher number by Western writers, according to Parsee relation, numbered but fifteen thousand properly disciplined troops, and the Arab horsemen by whom they were overthrown were still fewer in number. The overthrow of the Persian army was complete, and the monarchy fell as it fled. Yesdezird, the forty-fifth king of the race of Kaimur, became a fugitive, wandering about in the meanest disguises over the realms he had ruled; he lingered ten years, pursued with implacable hatred by his conquerors, and was at last betrayed and basely slain by one to whom the secret of his rank was confided. This perfidy was perpetrated A.D. 651. The dynasty of the Sussarian kings of Persia perished with the life of Yezdezird. The work of Cyrus the Great—the *Kaikhoshru* of the Persians—was thus destroyed. The great empire his genius founded vanished before the scimitar and lance of the Arab. The name of Mohammed triumphed over that of Zoroaster, and the ancient glory of Persia disappeared for ever.

The Parsees delight to represent their religion as shining in the light of purity at the period of its overthrow, and the people of Persia as intelligent, prosperous, and happy beyond all nations at the juncture when the hoofs of the Arab horsemen trod out the sacred torches of religion and liberty. These representations are, however, partial, for there is evidence sufficient in the history of the early Christian Church to show how superstitious and idolatrous the first oriental missionaries found the land of the Parsees. Jew and Gentile had often groaned under the persecutions of a proudly dominant and essentially idolatrous system; and the Arabs, if they had no images to provoke their iconoclastic propensities, beheld in the Persians, worshippers of nature in a manner as hateful to the monotheistic conquerors. To the Mohammedans the fire-temples were the symbols and sanctuaries of an abominable idolatry, and they therefore razed or desecrated them. The Parsees complain of the intolerance of these early ravagers; but while it cannot be denied that the present Parsees of India are enlightened in the doctrines of religious liberty, their forefathers in Persia were not strangers to intolerance in their own policy and practice. The bigotry of the conquerors was, however, savage; they believed themselves divinely commissioned, as undoubtedly they were providentially raised up, to punish idolaters, and they spared neither the idols nor their worshippers. It is not to be wondered at if the altars of the sun met with no more respect than those of Vishnu, and the temples of fire-worship were in Mohammedan esteem as obnoxious to destruction as those of Brahminical worship were at a later period. The Mohammedans were not nice in their casuistry as to degrees of idolatry; the sun, the elements, a hideous representation of Hindoo mythology, Greek painting or Latin sculpture in honour of Christian saints, all fared alike before those who held that all idols and the makers of them ought to perish together, for the honour of God, and in the name of Mohammed, his prophet. The soldiers of the caliphate of Bagdad were among the truest to their mission in this respect that ever went forth for the glory of their faith. They overran every province of Persia, and gave the Ghebers no rest until they accepted the Arab creed, or were made martyrs by the Arab sword. Many of the Persians perished, but generally they preferred recantation to martyrdom. One hundred thousand daily renounced their religion, which ought not to excite surprise; for if they were sincere in the monotheistic creed which modern Parsees are so anxious to ascribe to them, they would find it in Mohammedanism more simply and rationally than in their own professed monotheism but virtual pantheism. It required a shorter time than ever before or since sufficed to change the faith of a nation, to overthrow that of Zoroastrianism in Persia. In a few years after the conquest the professors of the ancient faith were a despised and persecuted remnant, insignificant in numbers, and such they have continued to this day. Eastern writers' have described the moral results of the change according to their sympathies with the creeds of the victors or the vanquished, and European writers have given little attention to that subject. Weighing the evidence impartially, the ancient Persian professors of the religion of Zoroaster were more moral than the present Persians, many of whom are nominally Mohammedans, but actually atheists. It is certain that since the power of Islam prevailed Persia has retrograded both socially and in her relation to other nations. She were once the glory and splendour of empire, and nations bowed the neck to her yoke; now none so poor as to do her homage.

During the first fiery career of the Mohammedan conquerors, many of the Persians fled to the mountains of Khorassan. Here for a century they found freedom to adore God in the elements, in a fitting theatre for their peculiar worship. But at last the avenging sword of the Mohammedan sought their blood even in the defiles and ravines of that rocky and precipitous realm. The Persian settlements were dispersed after a feeble resistance, and the fugitives sought various sanctuaries of liberty and peace. A considerable number found a retreat in the Island of Ormuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Even to this island retirement they were pursued; the ships and scimitars of the Arabs soon appeared, and the persecuted wanderers became fugitives once more. They resolved to seek an asylum beyond the reach of their conquerors, and considered India as a likely country to afford it. The emigration of this little company has a better authenticated history than that of other sections of those who became exiles for their religion and freedom, but the records preserved of any of the bands of fugitives are imperfect. Learned Persians had found honoured residence in India, as eminent Hindoos had in Persia from very remote ages; for, as has been proved in other chapters of this history, the intercourse between the two countries had been very great from the remotest antiquity. It would appear from recent investigations that from the very beginning of the Arab incursions, various bodies of Persians sought refuge in Hindostan. The traditions and stories of the exiles of Ormuz, and their various wanderings before they found a final settlement, are very numerous, and often contradictory, as they exist among the Parsees of India. A learned Parsee, named Behram, who lived at Nowsari, a town near Surat, at the close of the sixteenth century, wrote a work entitled *Kissah-i-Saryan*, which professed to be a compilation of the traditions which existed in Western India at that period, respecting the immigrants from Ormuz and other places in Persia. The first place at which any body of the refugees sought a home, was, according to Behram, Diu or Diew, a small island in the Gulf of Cambay, to the southwest of the peninsula of Kattywar. This was a very appropriate place for their purpose. Briggs, in his work entitled *Cities of Guzzarastra*, as quoted by Mr. Framjee, thus describes it:—" Diu or Diew was one of the earliest seats of the Portuguese power in India. It was regarded by Albuquerque as an excellent port for a settlement, one that would secure, from its advantages, both marine and terrine, the permanency of the country's influence in Hindostan. After several fruitless efforts, the infamous Nugna d'Acunha succeeded, in 1535, in obtaining possession of Diew, and within a very short time rendered it almost impregnable to the assaults of the native powers. . . . History asserts that the trade of Surat was destroyed to encourage commerce at Diew; and Osorio makes mention of the splendour of its buildings and the greatness of its maritime powers. Upon Surat recovering itself, Diew declined, and is now said to be a vast pile of dilapidation."

At this place the fugitives disembarked, and found a shelter for nineteen years. The reason of their departure at that period, as given by Behram, is a most strange one:—" An aged *dastoor* (high priest), reading the tablets of the stars, made an augury that it behoved them to depart from that place and seek out another abode; all rejoiced at his words, and sailed swiftly for Gujerat." Incredible as it might seem that a people, who for so long had found an undisturbed shelter, should on no better grounds forsake it, a knowledge of the superstitions of the Parsees, both of antiquity and of the present day, renders it explicable. The old Persians were famous augurs, soothsayers, and astrologers: their wise men, or magi, were held to be eminent as sages in proportion to their knowledge of ethics and the heavenly bodies. Astronomy was studied, but the heavens were chiefly contemplated for astrological purposes. The present race of Parsees, both in Persia and India, are influenced by similar delusions, and in their sacred services, and social ceremonies, astrology performs an important part. The exiled inhabitants of Diew departed, encountering fierce storms in their course. During their perils almost all hope was abandoned, and the Parsee interest was in imminent danger of being extinguished. A prayer was offered by the storm-tossed exiles, composed on the spot by their dastoor, which exhibits them in a more favourable light than the astrological auguries which sent them on the expedition. As the strictures upon the high pretensions of Parsees to purity of creed and practice in the foregoing pages may be regarded as somewhat stern, it will be considered by the reader as impartial and just to give this prayer, which is, moreover, in itself, calculated deeply to interest those who trace the providence of God in Indian history, not in one race, or creed, or power, but in every element of the great social mass ever upheaving in the peninsula, like the ocean that surges against its coasts. "O wise God, come to our assistance in this jeopardy; and we pray to Thee to deliver us from the impending danger. O glorious God, we beseech Thee to gladden our hearts by removing those difficulties with which we are now surrounded. On Thy goodness, O Lord, we fully depend, and hope that the storm which has overtaken us will soon be over through Thy Divine Grace. As long as we have hopes of Thy aid, O God, we tremble not at this calamity. We have implicit faith in Thee, as the hearer of those who cry to Thee. Deliver us, therefore, O Merciful Providence, from this trouble, and lead us to the right path, that we may escape from this sea to the shores of India, and we promise, O Lord, to kindle on high the flame sacred to Thee in grateful remembrance of Thy kindness and protection." The storm abated, and the little fleet was wafted in security to Saujan, about twenty miles south of Damaun, at which place they disembarked. This is believed to have occurred A.D. 717. The territory of Saujan was then governed by a prince named Jadao Rana, a man of reputed wisdom and liberality. A high priest was sent, with the usual oriental gifts when it is necessary to conciliate power and bespeak favour from princes. The priest seems to have had some diplomatic qualities, and gained a ready and impartial audience. According to the Parsee traditions, the prince was somewhat awed by the martial bearing of the immigrants; which, judging of the easy conquest made by the Arabs, need not have caused him any apprehensions. Fearing that the strangers might ultimately, and perhaps speedily, constitute an *imperium in imperio*, or haply overthrow his throne, he demanded clear and specific statements of the affairs, objects, and history of those who sought so abruptly to become citizens of his dominion. The Parsees, well aware of the faith and customs of the Hindoos, and masters of the language of that part of India, were at no loss to provide a reply likely to interest the governor or ruler whose protection they sought. He was convinced of their merits, and his own obligations of hospitality. He required an explicit statement of their religious opinions. This the dastoors, or priests, professed to provide; but as our Parsee fellow-subjects in India are never deficient in *finesse*, so it appears that their forefathers were not deficient in this quality, for an abstract of Parsee faith was given more cunning than correct. The object was not to offend their expected benefactor by too startling an *exposé* of a creed so much at variance with their own; and to effect this object they affected a coincidence of opinion and custom which was not real. It is not unlikely, however, that some conformity to Hindoo practice and opinion had been conceded or acquired at Diu, and so far the representations made by the dastoors may have been more honest than otherwise they would appear. Modern Parsees deny the validity of the doctrines and practices contained in the *Schlokes*, put forward by their forefathers on this occasion as an *exposé* of Zoroastrianism, and maintain that their ancestors yielded to a great temptation to secure a footing in the land of hope. The following *schlokes*, or distiches, were put forth, however, as a full exposition to the Hindoo prince, of the religion of his visitors:—

1. We are worshippers of Hormuzed (the supreme), and of the sun, and the four elements.
2. We observe silence while bathing, praying, making offerings to fire, and eating.
3. We use incense, perfumes, and flowers, in our religious ceremonies.
4. We are worshippers of the cow.
5. We wear the sacred garment, the *sadra*, or shirt, the *kusti*, or cincture, for the loins, and the cap of two folds.
6. We rejoice in songs and instruments of music, on the occasion of our marriages.
7. We ornament and perfume our wives.
8. We are enjoined to be liberal in our charities, and especially in excavating tanks and wells.
9. We are enjoined to extend our sympathies towards males as well as females.
10. We practise ablutions with *gaomutra*, one of the products of the cow.
11. We wear the sacred girdle when praying and eating.
12. We feed the sacred flame with incense.
13. We practice devotion five times a day.
14. We are careful observers of conjugal fidelity and purity.
15. We perform annual religious ceremonies on behalf of our ancestors.
16. We place great restraints upon our women after their confinements.

Jadao Rana was well pleased with this form of faith, and gave the petitioners authority to reside in the city on certain conditions. These were, that they should adopt the language of the country, giving up the use of their own; that they should dress their women in the Hindoo fashion, perform their marriage ceremonies by night, like the Hindoos, and wear no armour. The Parsees reluctantly consented to these terms, which were only accepted as a sad alternative to being sent forth again vagrants upon the deep. They were permitted to select a tract of waste land in the neighbourhood of Saujan.

The industry and perseverance of the Parsees—which qualities then, as now, characterized the race—turned the desert into a garden; and they performed the vow to God made by them on board ship, "to kindle on high the flame sacred to him." They erected a grand fire temple, to which purpose the rajah munificently contributed. The structure was completed, according to the chronology of Parsee tradition, A.D. 721.

The colony increased, and sent off outshoots to Surat, Nowsari, Broach, Variao, Ukleser, and Cambay. Their brethren in Persia, who survived under terrible persecution or concealed their faith, found their way in small companies to most or all of these places. For a period of five hundred years but few incidents occurred in the history of the Parsees in India; nevertheless, their influence increased, and they lived in harmony with the people of the land. Their employments were chiefly agricultural, and they avoided all meddling with political affairs.

Their old enemies, the Mohammedans, however, still crossed their path, and pursued them with a vengeance which seemed destined to be successful. As shown in the chapters devoted to the history of the Mohammedans in India, those fierce marauders cut their way into Hindostan, blood and triumph marking their career. For a long time the Parsees escaped any especial exposure to their wrath or their power, but step by step the squadrons of the common enemy pressed onwards, and Hindoo and Parsee alike bowed to the thraldom. The conduct of the Parsees who were exposed to these troubles was passive and submissive generally. Early in the sixteenth century Sultan Mohammed Begada, of Ahmedabad, collected a large army under a general of reputation, named Aluf Khan, and invaded the territory of Saujan. The Hindoo rajah, unable to cope with the force sent against him, summoned the Parsee elders to his presence, reminded them of the favours lavished upon their ancestors by his, and appealed to their justice, gratitude, and honour for what succour they could render in that hour of danger. To the address of the rajah they are represented as having replied, "Fear not, O prince, on account of this army: all of us are ready to scatter the heads of thy foes, and will fight as long as a drop of blood remains in our veins. In battle we never give way; not one man of us will turn his back, though a millstone were dashed at his head." The past conduct of the Persians before the Arabs did not justify so magniloquent a speech, but their descendants at Saujan were prepared to make good on their own part what they vowed. Fourteen hundred Parsees, under the command of Ardeshir, a man eminent among them, joined the army of the rajah. The enemy approached the vicinity of Saujan with a force of thirty thousand men, chiefly cavalry, confident in their numbers, contemptuous of their foes, and proud of a long line of deeds of chivalry and daring, which had rendered terrible the Mohammedan name. The Hindoos marshalled in much inferior numbers and confidence; they, however, fought well, sending showers of arrows upon the enemy, in which their superiority was well asserted. The Mohammedans sought closer combat, but were received by the javelin men of the Hindoos fiercely and effectively; the usual irresistible charge of Mohammedan cavalry, however, at length overthrew bowmen and javelin men together, and the Hindoos broke away, retiring in disorder from the field. The Parsees were reserved to cover a retreat; and like the Irish Brigade in the French service at the memorable battle of Fontenoy, they rendered a more effective service; they charged the victors with such heroic impetuosity, that their line, already too extended, was broken, a panic ensued, under the impression that the rajah was performing a grand stratagem in the previous retirement of his force. Aluf Khan, with his cavalry, galloped from the field, while Ardeshir and his Parsee auxiliaries cut up the infantry, but few of whom escaped, and these only in utter rout. The movement of Ardeshir, and its execution by his devoted band of followers, were worthy of the reputation of Persian arms when, in the great days of that empire, its name and its glory filled all Asia.

The gratitude of the rajah placed the Parsee colonists in a position of great honour and esteem. None seemed to envy, all to admire them. But this happy state of things was not permitted to endure. Mohammed was enraged, and, with the characteristic pertinacity in war of his race, renewed hostilities. Aluf Khan organized a larger army, and advancing against Saujan, occupied the same battle-ground. The rajah was dismayed, but the heroic alacrity with which his Parsee subjects flew to arms reassured him, notwithstanding the overwhelming superiority of the enemy in numbers and oriental appurtenances of war. Ardeshir was sent for to the rajah's presence, and consulted. His opinion and counsel were against timidity, avowing that the safety of the rajah and his dominions lay in energy, promptitude, and dauntless resolution." He is recorded as having concluded his address in the following terms, which were more intrepid than prophetic:—" O prince, the enemy has appeared in greater numbers than before. They are a hundred to our one, but behold our courage! We will either yield our lives, or take those of our foes; and in this resolve may God befriend us, since he always removes our difficulties." The rajah and his army went out against the foe, and a sanguinary conflict ensued. The Hindoo prince was unfortunately slain, and his men wavered, and gradually gave way. Ardeshir and his Parsees, as in the previous battle, charged the enemy with terrible fury. The Mohammedan general was prepared for this, and offered a resistance as desperate, led by a chief of great prowess. This redoubtable leader and Ardeshir encountered each other hand-to-hand, and the Mohammedan was slain. Aluf Khan, perceiving that fortune again favoured the Hindoo cause, chiefly in the person of Ardeshir, charged down upon him with the main portion of his force, and was received with unshaken fortitude. During this crisis a dart pierced the breast of Ardeshir, and he fell dead from his horse. The Parsees appear to have yielded to the panic common to oriental nations when their chief falls—they fled from the field. The enemy entered Saujan, dealing bloody retribution around them. The dynasty of the rajah, as well as his life, terminated on that day, and the Parsees of Saujan, like those of Iran, bowed the neck to victors the same in creed, and in enmity to them.

The Parsees who were not slain or subjected to slavery fled to the mountains of Baharout, saving nothing but their lives and the sacred fire. Saujan was never again occupied by them. Not one Parsee is to be found there even now, nor is there any memento of their influence and distinguished career at that spot, once so happy a refuge for them, except a *dokhma*, or tower of silence, for the dead. It would appear that the mountain fastnesses afforded a defence, or the enemy was too much occupied to pursue them, or deemed them unworthy of pursuit, for they continued in their mountain refuge for about twelve years unmolested.

A small company of Parsees existed at Bansda at that time, with whom a correspondence was opened, and the fugitives moved down from their highlands, and found hospitality among their brethren. Thither of course the sacred fire was brought; for the more a superstition is persecuted, the more its devotees cling to it, unless—as in the case of the Parsees in Persia upon the conquest by the Arabs—death is made the alternative of conformity; and the latter is chosen once for all, at least in outward adhesion.

At Nowsari the Parsees had become somewhat numerous and rich; to that place the sacred fire was soon after removed, and ultimately to Oodwarra, thirty-two miles from Surat, where it still is, within the oldest and most venerated fire-temple in India.

Previous to the overthrow of the Rajah of Saujan many Parsees emigrated from that place to other cities of Gujerat, and almost all that is now known of them is that they peacefully prosecuted the pursuits of industry, contributing to the social importance and prosperity of those cities. Their lives were spent too tranquilly for many records of them to remain such as constitute the more exciting pages of history. Some few obstructions, however, to this easy current of their affairs were presented, and these were generally removed by passiveness on the part of the aggrieved. Sometimes, however, the ancient warlike spirit of their race burst upwards, as the fervent fires of their altars. An instance of some note occurred at Variao, near Surat, when it was under the sovereignty of the Rajah of Ruttunpore. This potentate attempted a heavy exaction in the form of an especial tax from his Parsee subjects, their reputed riches having tempted his rapacity. After petitions and remonstrances had proved unavailing, the objects of his plunder obstinately refused the tribute, and the rajah sent what the Parsees call an army, but which numerically did not deserve the name, to enforce his demands. An engagement ensued, in which, notwithstanding that their numbers were extremely disproportionate, victory was won by the Parsees. The rajah did not attempt a second time to accomplish his purpose by force, but resorted to an act of perfidy characteristic of his age, country, and creed. He surprised the Parsees at a grand marriage festival in Variao, and while they were with their wives and children enjoying themselves, all were put to the sword—not a woman or even a child was permitted to escape. The same sanguinary barbarity which was shown at Cawnpore, and elsewhere in India ages after, was practised on the Variaoan Parsees. To this day at Surat the members of the community celebrate certain religious rites in honour of those who perished by the cowardice and bloody treachery of the Hindoos of Ruttunpore.

It was not until after their flight from Saujan that the Parsees acquired much wealth or influence in the west of India generally. At Nowsari and Surat they became gradually rich and influential. The nawabs of the latter city, although Mohammedans, were not unfriendly to the refugees, and frequently conferred upon them small situations of trust and honour. From time to time, there, and in other parts of India, the more enlightened Mohammedans were more favourable to the Parsees than to the Hindoos; but this was very seldom the case, except among such as were not reputed, or were not at heart zealous for the religion of the Prophet. By the more devout adherents of Islam the Parsees were regarded as the most dangerous of idolaters, because their idolatry was subtle and refined. There was no fear of the faithful being proselytized by the monstrous idolatries of Hindooism; but there was something insinuating and ethereal in the Zoroastrian system, which had a tendency to captivate alike the sentimental and philosophical.

On a few occasions even the Great Mogul condescended to treat with some consideration distinguished members of the Parsee community. About the middle of the eighteenth century a jaghire in the zillah of Surat was conferred by the Mogul upon one Nek Saut Khan, for services rendered by him at the court of Agra in mechanical and mathematical philosophy. This enlightened Parsee was instrumental in gaining concessions and privileges on behalf of the English at Surat. But throughout the long period of Mohammedan oppression acts of kindness on the part of their rulers to the Parsees were rare. The orthodox Mohammedans followed them with ruthless persecution, unless such was restrained or mitigated by political considerations, as one champion of Islam endeavoured to plunder or subdue the territory of another. Sometimes this persecuted race purchased immunity from torment, and at other times the general toleration, rendered necessary by the overwhelming number of dissidents from Islam, as a matter of course comprised the Parsees, comparatively so insignificant in numbers. To the good faith, generosity, or toleration of the Mohammedans, the Parsee community owed little in any age, and to this day it is scoffed at and hated by them everywhere in India.

The prosperity of the settlers at Nowsari continued down to a late period. In the sixteenth century it seems to have reached its acme, but for a long time the community there has been on the decline, and is now composed of priests. From this sacerdotal colony the Parsees at Bombay and other places derive their ministers.

The settlement at Surat maintained a respectable position up to the time of the arrival of the Dutch, from which period it rapidly rose in wealth. The Dutch, more liberal and politic in religious matters than the Portuguese, fostered the descendants of the Parsee colonists. The broker of the Dutch factory at Surat, when that nation gained a firm footing there, was a Parsee, and his influence with the nawab was so great, that the aims of the Dutch were much facilitated by him. Indeed, all the European commercial adventurers in India found it necessary, or for their interest generally, to employ Parsee brokers. This has arisen from the energy in trade displayed by the latter, their superior practical intelligence, their freedom from bigotry, and their rejection of caste and all its train of inconveniences socially and commercially. These quick-witted Parsee brokers have generally contrived to enrich themselves; and many Europeans have believed that the wealth thus acquired would not always have been gained had the agents been true to their principals. Dishonest Europeans have so often found themselves outwitted in commercial competition by Parsee agents or rivals, that they have very naturally propagated impressions concerning them far from favourable. There are, however, some grounds for the opinion that energy and integrity are not the only qualities which mark the Parsees as European agents, and that a capacity for intrigue where their own commercial interests are concerned is as prominent a feature in their character as almost any other.

It was at Surat that the intelligence, activity, and business talents of the Parsees—surpassing any degree in which the Mussulmen and Hindoos are ever found to possess these qualities—first won pre-eminent distinction. When Bombay rose to importance, the capital and energies of the Parsees were, to a great extent, transferred to the new and more powerful centre of operations. Indeed, from the commencement of the English power in India, this people rose rapidly in fortune and influence, the more tolerant spirit of the British giving them a fairer scope for their abilities than they had ever before possessed.

It is difficult to fix the date of the arrival of the Parsees at Bombay, as this people, like the Hindoos, are strangely neglectful of historical records, relying upon tradition, which, as in all other cases, proves of very uncertain value. It is likely that the Parsees settled in the Island of Bombay previous to the cession of it to Charles II., as the dowry of his wife, the Princess of Portugal, 1668. It is supposed that English merchants at Surat induced the Parsees of that place to go to Bombay as their agents, before yet the power of England was established there. Mr. Dosabhoy Framjee supposes that there was only a single Parsee there at the time, when the English assumed authority, or if more than one the number was very small. He adopts the following characteristic argument in proof of his opinion. Dr. Fryer, who visited Bombay in 1671, says—" On the other side of the great inlet to the sea, is a point abutting against Old Woman's Island, and is called Malabar Hill, a rocky woody mountain, yet *on the top of all is a Parsee tomb lately raised.*" The first work of the Parsees, wherever they settle, is to construct a tomb (*dokhama*) or tower of silence for the reception of the dead; and the statement of Dr. Fryer, that the tomb in question had been recently raised, is a sufficient proof that no considerable number of the Parsees could have settled in that island prior to its cession to the British.

"So far as we have been able to ascertain from tradition among the Parsees themselves, Dorabjee Nanabhoy was the first and only individual of the race, who resided with his family in Bombay when the island was under the sway of the Portuguese government. He was employed by the authorities in transacting miscellaneous business with the natives of the place. When the island was ceded to England, he was appointed to a similar office; and, as the new rulers were ignorant of the place, manners, language, and customs of the people, he was frequently consulted by them on affairs of state. We may also infer that at the time of Dr. Fryer's visit to Bombay, the number of Parsees living there must have been very insignificant, as that gentleman makes no mention of them in the description given by him of the inhabitants then comprising the population of the island."

Dorabjee Nahabhoy was a very remarkable man, and rendered signal services to the British; Dosabhoy Framjee thus refers to those of his son:—"In 1692, a severe plague broke out in Bombay, when most of the Europeans of the place, and soldiers in the garrison, fell victims to the disease. Taking advantage of this unfortunate circumstance, the Seedees of Jungeera, who were then a powerful and independent people, invaded Bombay with a large force, and took possession of the island and Dungerry fort (now called Fort George). Dorabjee's son Rustom Dorab, who had succeeded his father in the service of the Bombay government, undertook to drive away the Seedees from the place. He raised a militia from among the fishermen of the population, fought the invaders and defeated them. He then dispatched messengers with the news of the victory to the chief of the English factory at Surat, who soon after arrived in Bombay and took charge of the government. For these invaluable services Rustom Dorab was honoured with the hereditary title of Patel (lord or chief) of Bombay. He was also placed at the head of the fisherman caste, and invested with the authority of adjudicating civil and religious disputes among them, an authority which, up to this day, is enjoyed by his descendants. On the death of Rustom Dorab, his son, Cowasjee Rustomjee, was invested with a dress of honour by Governor Hornby. As in those days the government found much difficulty in providing tonnage for transporting troops from one place to another, Cowasjee Patel was entrusted with the provision of boats and tonnage for the public service, which duty he performed very creditably. When the British took Tannah from the Mahrattas, Cowasjee Patel was appointed to an important post in the place, where he colonized a number of Parsees, and built places of worship and other charitable buildings for their use from his own purse. On the death of Cowasjee, his son, Sorabjee, succeeded to the title of "Patel." The present head of this family, Hirjeebhoy Rustomjee Cowasjee Patel, was until lately one of the most extensive merchants in China, and is at present in England."

Among the early Parsee settlers at Bombay, after the British became the rulers, were several men eminent for their virtues and intelligence, who exercised no small influence upon the progress of the settlement and the development of English power. One Sawjee, a shipwright, was of this number; he left Surat, where he was born, to fill a situation in the service of Mr. Dudley, the company's ship builder. Sawjee's skill as a ship builder gave satisfaction to the East India Company, and the European community at Bombay. He acquired a preponderating influence with the government and merchants. Under his auspices, the dockyard at Bombay was founded, 1735. It is a singular circumstance that ever since, the situation of master of the dockyard has been filled by a descendant of Sawjee.

Many Parsees that are now, in 1858, prosperous merchants in India—more especially in Bombay—are the descendants of the first settlers in that island, when under the protection of the British flag they flocked thither secure of liberty, toleration, and protection. It was not until a much later period that the Parsees made way in Bengal and Madras. In eastern and southern as well as western India they rose in the social scale, with the gradual development of European power. In north-eastern India they never gained a footing, up to the time of the arrival of the English; after that period, they gradually found their way thither. As British conquest spread, a way was opened still wider for their commercial enterprise, and at last the Parsee was found in every part of India, in the newest conquests as well as in the old cities of the presidencies. The present position of the Parsees affords a striking illustration of the uncertain glories of states and peoples. The whole Parsee community in India, Persia, and adjoining countries, probably does not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand souls. Persia is no longer the centre of their influence, religious, social, or political: they are there a persecuted remnant, trodden down by the Mohammedan tyrant. In India, and especially in Bombay, they are to be found in greatest numbers, and there alone have they influence—power, strictly speaking, they do not possess anywhere. Those who remained in Persia after the dispersion suffered horribly from every ruthless robber whose hosts overflowed the land. Arab, Affghan, or Mogul, which ever ruled where the Parsee kindled his sacred pile, alike inflicted indignity and oppression; and now, so genial has been the effect of British power to the Parsees, those who live in India are the teachers and succourers of those who still linger in their father-land. Seldom in the world's history has a race, once so mighty, fallen so low as the Ghebers of Persia. One of their brethren in India has, as eloquently as sadly, written when he thus refers to it:—"The instability of human grandeur receives no more striking illustration than is afforded by the overthrow of the great monarchies which ruled in Asia before the Christian era. Inheritors of the old glories of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, the Persian power spread its dominion from the isles of Greece to the table-land of Thibet—from the Caspian Sea to the confines of India. The ruins of ancient Persepolis tell of the splendour and the power of the Magian princes. The remains of mighty causeways, cut step by step on the Bakhtyari Mountains, which divide the valley of the Tigris from the plains of Ispahan, and form the natural defence on that side of the modern Moslem empire of Persia, tell of the passage of myriads of busy feet, and the march of heavy bodies of soldiery in ancient times, where now even the caravanserai dare not pass, and the wild robbers of the hills gain a precarious subsistence by plundering the plains, and by tending cattle, which form their only wealth. In short, here is a country, once the most powerful, groaning under the fanatic and despotic rulers, while the few descendants of that proud ancient race are sunk into unnoticeable insignificance. All this, we again say, forcibly reminds us of the instability of human grandeur. To a Parsee, however, the decline and fall of the old Persian empire is a subject of peculiar interest. That strong feeling of association which binds to the present the memory of the past stages of a man's private existence—that same feeling presents vividly before our minds the memory of what our forefathers were. Our race in India enjoys all the blessings of an enlightened and liberal government—and our only wish is that our brethren in the Persian soil may also be as happy and fortunate as ourselves."

It is difficult to compute the number of Parsees, but two-thirds of their whole number are estimated by themselves to be located in the Bombay presidency. Their increase there is rapid. Until of late years the Parsee population of Surat exceeded that of Bombay, but at present the latter city has a much larger population. Their natural increase is in a much greater ratio than that of any other race in India. They are a very united people, although there are two sects, the Shemsoys and Kadmis; but their difference not involving any article of faith, or test of communion, but simply the date upon which a certain feast should be observed, they are not likely to quarrel, or hold divided interests.

There is considerable dissatisfaction with the state of the law in India as regards their community. They are anxious to transmit property in their families on a principle naturally more equitable than that which British law recognises. The property of the Parsees, real and personal, is divided equally among their children, or in the proportion of one part to a daughter, and two to a son. They cannot be brought to comprehend the justice or the advantage of the law of primogeniture. In certain cases, however, this law has been applied and enforced, and certain covetous members of the community have insisted on their title as heir-at-law, according to British custom. This has excited intense anxiety and dissatisfaction among the whole people, and they demand that their own custom, from time immemorial, shall be law to them. The government which has favoured more powerful and less loyal religious bodies has not, in the opinion of some of this people, met them with fairness and frankness in this respect. There has been a reluctance on the part of the English authorities to depart from the aristocratic *régime* of England on the subject of inheritance. Still, the concession of some relief was necessary, and in 1837, an act was passed by the government of India (No. IX.), which complied with the wishes of the Parsees to the following extent:—

> I.—It is hereby enacted, that from the first day of June, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, all immovable property situate within the jurisdiction of any of the courts established by his majesty's charter, shall, as far as regards the transmission of such property on the death and intestacy of any Parsee having a beneficial interest in the same, or by last will of any such Parsee, be taken to be and to have been of the nature of chattels real, and not of freehold.
>
> II.—Provided always, that in any suit at law or in equity which shall be brought for the recovery of such immovable property as is aforesaid, no advantage shall be taken of any defect of title arising out of the transmission of such property upon the death and intestacy of any Parsee having a beneficial interest in the same, or by the last will of any such Parsee, if such transmission took place before the said first day of June, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, and if such transmission were, either according to the rules which regulate the transmission of freehold property, or else took place with the acquiescence of all persons to whom any interest in that property would, according to the rules which regulate the transmission of chattels real, have accrued upon the death of such Parsee.
>
> W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
> *Secretary to the Government of India.*

When it is recollected that the wealth of the Parsees is out of all proportion to their numbers, the community being probably the richest in the world, taking such proportion into account, the importance of this subject to the government of India and to British interests is obvious. It would be an absurd policy to alienate a brave and loyal people, when all the other religious parties, even in the midst of their sedition, have had their feelings, principles, and customs, considered in the administration of the law.

The Parsees were grateful for the act of 1837, but it did not fully meet the case; the heir of the intestate Parsee might still claim the landed estates, if disposed to violate the acknowledged principles of his religion and the sacred customs of his people. The difficulty in the way of conceding relief on other points arose from the want of a proper standard among the Parsees themselves. Disputes among the Hindoos, and also among the Mohammedans, have been decided by judgments according to their sacred books, interpreted by their Shastrees and Kazees; but the Parsee books do not relate to such matters as would enable an English judge to adjudicate according to them.

One of the demands of the Parsees involves great difficulty in the administration of justice by an English court: it is, that the right of adoption where there is no child shall be recognised, so that property may descend to the person so adopted. The refusal of the English government to recognise this right on the part of both Mohammedans and Hindoos was one of the causes of the great outbreak of 1858. The Parsees feel the operation of English law in this particular as keenly as the votaries of other Eastern creeds, and hence very much dissatisfaction exists.

Very few of the Parsees seek, or obtain unsought, posts of honour under government, but they are very sensible of any acknowledgments of their loyalty. Several of the richest and most benevolent men in India, or probably in the world, are Parsees, who co-operate with the government in doing good to the people. Among them Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy stands conspicuous. Queen Victoria has raised him to the rank of a baronet, and conferred upon him other honours. Among them was a gold medal set in diamonds bearing an effigy of her majesty, and on the reverse the inscription, "To Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart., from the British Government, in honour of his munificence and his patriotism." Seldom has any British subject received an honour so dignified or so deserved. Notwithstanding the Parsee customs, Sir Jamsetjee has set apart ten thousand pounds per annum in land for supporting the dignity of the baronetcy on the part of his successor. The shield of this renowned person is one of the strangest ever known to heraldry. The following is its description, as given by an Indian periodical, which evidently published it with authority. It will no doubt interest the British reader:—"Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy's 'coat-of-arms' consists of a handsome shield in the form of the shields used by the Knights of St. John at the defence of Malta, beautifully emblazoned by scrolas of gold. At the lower part of the shield is a landscape scene in India, intended to represent a part of the Island of Bombay, with the Islands of Salsette and Elephanta in the distance. The sun is seen rising from behind Salsette, to denote industry, and, in diffusing its light and heat, displaying liberality. The upper part of the shield has a white ground, to denote integrity and purity, on which are placed two bees, representing industry and perseverance. The shield is surmounted by a crest, consisting of a beautiful peacock, denoting wealth, grandeur, and magnificence, and in its mouth is placed an ear of paddy, denoting beneficence. Below the shield is a white pennant folded, on which is inscribed the words 'Industry and Liberality,' which is Sir Jamsetjee's motto."

There is no class of the natives of India which engages itself so extensively in, or hopes to effect so much by, periodical literature, as that of the Parsees. They are not only actively engaged on the native press, but also on the English press of India, many being excellent English scholars. The manager of the *Bombay Times*, himself a Parsee (as already mentioned), makes the following statement on this subject:—"There are fourteen newspapers published in the Gujerati language, which are mostly circulated among the Parsees. Three of them are published daily, one tri-weekly, three bi-weekly, six weekly, and one fortnightly. The *Rast-Goftar*, a weekly newspaper, is the most influential and best of all. It enjoys the largest circulation, is conducted by the most talented men of the community, and always represents the sentiments and feelings of the educated, liberal-minded, and enlightened portion of the population. It deals, we may say, without fear of contradiction, with public men and public measures in a pungency of style and independence of tone at least equal to that of its English brethren on the spot. To this paper is undeniably due the credit of having greatly contributed, by the force and weight of its vigorous articles, to the abolition of many superstitions practised among the natives, and the introduction of reforms calculated to raise the moral and social condition of the people to a higher scale of civilization. The daily papers are also creditably conducted. Of the bi-weekly journals the *Chabook* is the best, and is one of the most spirited native journals in India. The *Suttaya Prakash*, a journal circulated chiefly among the Hindoo portion of the population of Bombay, is a very clever paper indeed, and is expected to do that service to the Hindoos which the *Rast-Goftar* has done to the Parsees."

These details, of the present condition, temper, and prospects of this strangely interesting race are given with more propriety in this chapter than if reserved to the relation of events under the general history of the English in India, in detailing which it will be more important to dwell upon the great events of the cabinet and the field, which fill up the ever-memorable story of English conquest and English rule. Whatever be the future history of the Parsee in the land of his origin, he is destined to exercise a great and an increasing influence upon the land of his adoption; and not only upon it, but through it, and more especially through its commerce, upon the proud and mighty empire in which it is absorbed. Happy will it be if at the same time this interesting people shall learn that neither in the fire-temple nor in the luminary of day is God appropriately worshipped; but while he is known as "the true Light, that lighteth every man who cometh into the world," "he is a Spirit," and is to be "worshipped in spirit and in truth."

CHAPTER XLV.

RUSSIAN INTERCOURSE, COMMERCIAL AND POLITICAL, WITH EASTERN ASIA.

Historians generally place the Portuguese first amongst the European nations which have, since the fifteenth century, for purposes of commerce or empire, penetrated to India, and the Asiatic regions and islands east of it. The Dutch have accorded to them, almost by common consent, the second place in the order of time for such adventurers. England is represented as afterwards pursuing the same objects; but, as will be shown in another chapter, the English preceded the Dutch in oriental adventure.

It is not generally known that Russia claims to have been the first European nation that has opened a commerce with China, and she professes to have traded with the people of Thibet and Northern India long before the Portuguese made any attempt whatever to accomplish such an object. Russia is a boastful nation; and the *éclat* won by the Portuguese, Dutch, and British, in their Eastern darings and doings, roused the jealousy and vanity of the Muscovites to put forth claims to priority of Eastern commerce. The intercourse of Russia with India was never worthy of notice, and was so indirect, that it can scarcely be said she ever had any commercial connection whatever with its people. But her intercourse with China assumed a regular character before that of any other European power, and probably may be considered as entitling her to the claim she covets. In this history it is only necessary to notice the enterprises of other European nations in the East so far as they illustrate the history of India, and so far as they may throw light upon the history of the British empire in the East. A clear and comprehensive view of either cannot be received without some account being given of what other nations effected or attempted. A brief outline of Russian history in connection with the East is necessary, because the designs of that power upon India and China—and, indeed, upon the whole Asiatic world—are in the present day no secret, and actually contribute more to the political complications of Europe than any other cause. The action of Russia, although not immediate upon India, is very decisive and extensive upon neighbouring countries. Persia feels in every fibre the touch of the Cossack lance; and the encroachment of the czar has already drawn the line of dominion around a large area of the Chinese empire.

The Tartar conquerors of Russia, it is well known, held intercourse both with India and China.

When the Czar Basilius, the fourth Duke of Smolensko and Pleskow, gained his independence, about 1508, it is alleged by the Russians that communications, for the purposes of barter, were maintained between the Russians and Chinese. The accounts given of such transactions by Russian writers are contradictory or inconsistent; but there is sufficient proof that some sort of trading intercourse with all the frontier nations, and through them for the productions of remoter Asiatic countries, was maintained from a very early period by the Russ.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, Russia acquired Astracan, and extended her authority all along the Volga to the Caspian. Thence commercial intercourse with eastern nations was sought by her in the rude way which comports with her custom and character; and the Persians and Russians, as well as the Turks and Russians, maintained an active trade, as far as the character of the age and the degree of existing civilization attained.

It is admitted on all hands that while the Portuguese were seeking a trade with China by sea, the Russians had prosecuted the same object most arduously by land; and long before a Dutch merchant or mariner had set foot upon the shores of China, the Siberian Russ had actually acquired Chinese territory, and by a strange mixture of fraud, force, and barter, made a trade with the Chinese. Whatever question there may be as to the priority of the Portuguese in traffic with China, none can exist that the Russians preceded both the English and Dutch. The more, however, this subject is searched, the more evident is it that Russia carried on a sort of border brigandage under the name of trade in one direction, and a more fair interchange of commodities in another, long before the ships of Portugal entered the waters of the Chinese seas. M. Auber, probably, gave this subject as much attention as any person has done, and his opportunities as secretary to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company, gave him peculiar advantages in so doing; and he affirms in terms, however, which are probably too cautious, the very early border trade of Russia with China. In the sixteenth century, while Holland was only speculating upon trade with that country, and England was making brave but irregular and unsystematic efforts to found an eastern commerce; while the Portuguese were in a position, to their Chinese enterprises, of great uncertainty, the Russians had taken up a warlike attitude on the Chinese frontier, and were trading with weapons in their hands in spite of the prohibitions of the mandarins and the celestial emperor. Of that period, M. Auber says:—"The Russians had, towards the latter end of the sixteenth century, penetrated through Siberia to the Chinese frontiers. The Chinese took umbrage at the enterprising spirit of these new neighbours, and erected forts to defend their boundaries. Skirmishes were frequent, and an open war was expected." In fact, the Russians pursue the same policy which they prosecuted towards the Chinese at this day, with the same sort of failure and of success. The Russians passed the boundary; established what, in that age, were called factories; took as much ground as they wanted for those factories, and held them by arms. The Chinese frequently invaded the precincts of the Russian agents, and laid waste their buildings and plantations, destroying, but seldom appropriating, the property of the traders. Retaliation was sought by the Muscovites, which nearly always issued in a further advance within the Chinese territories, until fresh conflicts and renewed attacks by the Chinese compelled them to strengthen their positions, which again served as points from which further aggressions might be made. During a large portion of the seventeenth century, while the Portuguese trade was declining, and the Dutch and English rivalry in the eastern seas embroiled these countries and created uneasiness in Europe, the Chinese and Russians continued to trade even amidst the vindictiveness of a desultory border conflict. The Russians persevered in smuggling, and in land forays; and the latter in fitful and tumultuous attacks upon their dogged, persistent, and still encroaching neighbours. So early as 1689, it became a necessity to the Chinese emperor to have a boundary treaty with his brother the czar, and that treaty was cleverly made by the Russians a means of obtaining a recognition of their authority over a considerable area which they had invaded, and also of their right to trade under certain stipulations. Plenipotentiaries of the two courts met and fixed the limits of the two empires at the river Kulecchi, three hundred leagues from the great wall. Raynal remarks that, "this was the first treaty in which the Chinese had ever been concerned since the foundation of their empire. They granted the Russians the liberty of sending a caravan every year to Pekin, an indulgence which had always been denied to foreigners, with the utmost precaution. It was easily perceived that the Tartars, although they conformed to the manners and customs of the Chinese, did not adopt their political maxim." A comparison of the way in which the Russians and Dutch were treated at the same period is very instructive to the student of the history of European progress in eastern Asia.

The Dutch embassy of 1655 to the Emperor of China, was one of the most imposing European embassies ever directed to that court. The ambassadors were accompanied by others from the Tartars and from the great Mogul. When they arrived at Pekin, after many humiliations and much delay, they had to wait all night in an open court, in expectation that the emperor would appear on his throne early in the morning. When he did appear, he remained seated in state for a quarter of an hour, when the representatives of these potentates were haughtily ordered by an official to withdraw, the emperor not having deigned to speak to them. They were conducted to an ante-chamber in the court of ceremonies, where a letter of the emperor was handed to each, or rather bound to the back of an interpreter, who marched before them through the middle gate of the court. These letters the ambassadors were obliged to receive kneeling. The Dutch, on this occasion, were not admitted to the emperor's presence at all, until after they had made "the nine prostrations." This was considered an act of homage to the emperor, recognising him as supreme lord of the universe. The Dutch were willing to make any number of prostrations if they could gain a footing for their trade, but their compliance humbled them in the opinion of the Chinese, and their presents were accepted in the light of tribute from their country to the emperor, in virtue of the ceremony in which they had taken part. In that year an ambassador from the czar was also at Pekin. He refused to make the nine prostrations, alleging that the czar his master was inferior to no monarch; and he, his subject, would do homage to no other than his own lawful sovereign. The spirit of the czar's minister startled the imagination of the Chinese, and the emperor refused him an audience. The ambassador prepared to depart, but the emperor forbade him to leave Pekin without his imperial pass. The czar's representative carried himself boldly, and reminded his imperial majesty, through his officials, that the czar his master, had the means of vindicating the rights of the humblest of his subjects, and would not be deficient in avenging the honour of his own representative. The courage and decision of the ambassador impressed the Asiatic mind with a sense of power, while the compliance of the Dutch produced an impression of weakness, and induced contempt. To the conduct of the ambassador on this occasion, as well as to the energy and force of the traders and soldiers on the frontier, the czar was indebted for the readiness with which the important treaty was subsequently entered into by his celestial majesty.

The contract of the terms of the Russian treaty with the final answer given by the emperor to the Dutch, is a very striking exemplification of the value of the two lines of policy when dealing with the Chinese:—

> The ultimate Decree of the Emperor:
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> To the kingdom of Holland health and peace, which out of its cordial love to justice has subjected itself to us, and sent ambassadors through the wide sea to pay us tribute; we nevertheless, weighing in our mind the length of the voyage, with the dangers incident thereto, do heartily grant them leave to come once every eight years to pay their tribute unto this court; and this we do to make known to the universe our affections to the people of the remotest parts.

According to an old report of a committee of the British House of Commons, on the export trade from Great Britain to the East Indies, the chief cause of jealousy and fear, on the part of the Chinese towards European nations approaching them by sea was, an old prophecy which was circulated among them, "that a remote nation of whites, clothed all over, should one day conquer their country." Possibly the Russians were not considered as a "*remote* nation of whites, clothed all over," but a contiguous nation of whites, and therefore not falling within the scope of the prophecy. Be this as it may, the last efforts of the pertinacious and valorous Dutch contrast strongly in their results to the far less ostentatious efforts of the Russians, who relied alone on a bold bearing and steady well-matured territorial encroachment. M. Auber thus relates the last attempts of the Dutch * :—"The Dutch were dispirited by their ill success; but their loss of Tywan, in 1661, produced two other embassies. The first of John Van

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* In a separate chapter, the enterprise of this nation in the East will have a place; so much is here introduced simply to illustrate by contrast the progress of Russia.

Campen and Constantine Noble, to the viceroy of the province of Fu-keen, in 1662. On this occasion the Viceroy of Fu-keen and the Chinese general presented the Dutch with silver plates, upon which their names and titles were engraved in Chinese characters gilt. These served as passes with which they might travel through the empire. This deputation was followed by a magnificent embassy to the Emperor Kan-ghi, in 1664. The Lord Peter Van Hoorn, privy councillor and chief treasurer of India, was chosen ambassador. His suite consisted of a chief councillor of the embassy, a factor, and master of the ceremonies, a secretary, a steward, six gentlemen, a surgeon, six men for a guard, two trumpeters, and one cook. In case the ambassador should die in the voyage, Noble was to succeed him. The reception of the ambassadors, and the forms observed in their negotiations with the Chinese ministers, were nearly the same as those already described, nor was their success better."

In the year 1693 Everard Isbred Ides was sent as ambassador from the court of the czar to that of Pekin; he was received with much ceremony, and no humiliating forms were exacted. He was allowed a direct audience, and invited to eat with his majesty; "the offspring of the sun and moon" even sent the ambassador, from his own hand, a cup of liquor such as was appreciated among all Tartar nations.

In 1712 an embassy was sent by the Emperor of China to A-yu-kee Khan, of the Tourgouth Tartars, on the banks of the Volga, north of the Caspian. The dispatch of this mission from Pekin is a very instructive incident in the history of the communication between Europe and Eastern Asia, for it is evident that the emperor really cared little for the Tartar chief in the Volga, but meant the mission indirectly for the Tartar's great master, the czar. The Chinese emperor had learned through his Tartar connection of the fame of Peter, whose reputation was then noised abroad through Europe and Asia; and the celestial monarch supposed that the mission would effect certain objects with the czar, while purporting to be an errand of business and courtesy to a tributary Tartar chief. The pretext for sending the embassy was, that it was a return for one from the chief, respecting his son, who, on a pilgrimage to Lassa, the holy place of Thibet, found it necessary to claim the protection of the government of Pekin. The messengers of the emperor received written instructions. These, through the labours and learning of Sir George Staunton, were made known in 1821. The directions afford ample proof of the alarm felt by the Chinese concerning Russian aggression, and the desire to impress the czar with the inutility of any close relations, political or commercial, between the two empires. The ambassadors were to tell the czar or his ministers that "his imperial majesty entertains no designs whatever which are inconsistent with the peace which has been established for many years. *You may therefore immediately remove and employ your frontier troops, without the least hesitation or uneasiness!*" The envoys were also put in possession of the following among other general instructions:—"If Russia speaks to you about fire-arms and solicits assistance of such kind, you may remark on the length of the way, the rugged mountains and forests which are difficult to pass; and should they press you upon the subject of remitting to us their request, you can answer, that being sent on a mission to the khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, you can hardly venture to address his majesty upon the subject. . . . . As the Russians are of a vain and ostentatious disposition, they will no doubt display before you the several things they possess; on such occasions, neither express admiration nor contempt. In all your proceedings you must show moderation, as well as gravity and composure. The inhabitants of the Russian territory, its natural and artificial productions, its geography and general appearance, are subjects to which due attention is to be given by you in the course of your journey."

The emperor styles himself Emperor of China and king of the world, while Peter is designated as a great khan or chief, showing that his celestial majesty intended to make known that he assumed superiority.

On arriving at Tabolkska, they met Prince Gazarin, who was then governor of Siberia, who informed them that the czar was in the field at the head of his army. The governor and the tributary Tartar chiefs showed them much respect. A great display for the time was made of Russian troops, and a grand escort was placed at their service.

In 1715, the czar sent Laurence Lange as envoy to Pekin, whose reception was with the highest honours the Chinese court could confer. Lange kept a journal, which has much in it which is very instructive as to the relations of China and Russia at that early date, and the closer intimacy maintained between the two nations, than China allowed to exist between her and any other. He says, "The merchants in particular who trade with the Russians, receive frequent marks of his bounty, for when they are not able to make their payments at the time prefixed, he advances them money out of his own treasury, that their creditors may not complain of being detained. In 1717, trade being so dull at Pekin that the Russian merchants could find no vent for their goods, the emperor gave his subjects leave to traffic with them without paying the usual duties, which occasioned that year a deficiency of twenty thousand ounces of silver in his revenue."

Two Chinese and two Tartar lords were sent, as ambassadors to the czar, with M. Lange on his return. It was the fortune of this gentleman to visit Pekin soon after as secretary to another and grander embassy, in 1719. It was the 23rd of September, 1720, when they entered the Chinese territory, from which date they were made the guests of the emperor, and supported sumptuously at his expense. It is a curious circumstance that we are indebted mainly to an Englishman for an account of that embassy and its results. Mr. Bell, of Autermony, referred to in former chapters, accompanied the ambassador, the feeling of Russia to England being at that particular juncture most favourable. This gentleman published a narrative of what he saw, as he did also of his experience when accompanying a Russian embassy to Persia four years previously. His narratives show how intent Russia then was to gain a diplomatic and commercial footing in both eastern and western Asia, and how skilfully the influence she was enabled to obtain was calculated to ensure territorial encroachment. The policy was actively at work which ripened in the reign of Nicholas, and which occasioned such an armament of nations against the ambition of St. Petersburg. During the discussions which arose upon the mode of reception of this embassy, it was agreed that the representative of each nation should conform to any ceremonies which their respective sovereigns might prescribe. The emperor, however, waived the customs of China, as usual in the case of the Russian ambassador. Nevertheless, whether influenced in these courtesies by Tartar affinity, or because of the contiguity of the two empires, the secret policy of the Chinese court was hostile. This was evinced soon after the Russian ambassador departed. M. de Lange was left at Pekin, as resident agent of the czar. This greatly displeased his imperial majesty, and every opportunity was taken to indicate his displeasure, and cause the resident to take his departure. M. de Lange's account of the affronts, indignities, and injuries to which he was subjected show that his residence there excited a deep animosity on the part of both court and people. The treaty as to the yearly caravan was badly kept as to the letter, and utterly violated as to the spirit. Extortion and even plunder was perpetrated by people and officials, and with the connivance of the government. The provisions promised as a gratuity to merchants, and to the attendants of the Russian minister were withheld, and even when paid for were not delivered. De Lange was little better than a prisoner at Pekin during more than a year and a half, and at last, having been treated with insupportable insolence, he withdrew with the return of the Russian caravan: the Chinese government never admitted another. It would have been impossible for Russia to have been represented by a person freer from Russian nationality or a haughty bearing than the gentleman who then endeavoured to support her interests, but neither his courtesy nor his firmness were of any avail. The permanent resident was regarded by sovereign and people as a spy, and resentment against his nation was enkindled. De Lange was finally given to understand that all future business, commercial or otherwise, should be transacted on the frontier. The Russians did resume business on the frontier, and with a vengeance; for the old disputes which had been settled by the treaty of 1685[1] were re-opened; the Russians soon indemnified themselves by territorial plunder for any loss in the profits of the caravan, or any indignity to their ambassador; and so far back as the return of De Lange the Russian designs, which have since been developed on the Amour, were formed.

In 1727 the czarina, Catherine I., resolved to accomplish what Peter failed to do. She projected a plan for Russian residence at Pekin, ostensibly of a purely ecclesiastical kind, and sent an ambassador extraordinary to negotiate a treaty for that purpose. Being ostensibly one of amity and friendship the object was secured, and the residence of certain priests and lay students of the Chinese language was authorized by a specific article of the treaty. This mission or residence has enabled the Russian government to obtain exact intelligence of all public affairs, and as the residents or students are changed every ten years, Russia is always provided with a number of intelligent persons acquainted with the Chinese language, the habits and opinions of the Tartar court, and the general condition of the empire. The "Celestials" are thus accustomed to the appearance of Russian official visitors.

The renewed frontier feuds increased the indisposition of the Chinese to hold intercourse with Russia. The ecclesiastical residence at Pekin has had the same effect: nothing but the fear of open war with Russia prevents the emperor from breaking it up, as it is believed that Russia makes it a *sine quâ non* if peace is to continue.

In 1806 two Russian ships arrived at Macao, contrary to existing treaties, which forbid the traffic of the Russians by sea. The ships were not permitted to land or take in cargoes. An embassy from Russia was in the same year turned back from the great wall. From that date the Russians relied upon territorial encroachment as the chief or only means of their gaining advantage in China and Chorea, and they have succeeded to a marvellous degree. Finally, they have, in 1858, obtained a treaty by which they are empowered to trade by sea on the same footing as the most favoured maritime nations. The steps by which Russia has effected these advantages were too gradual, and the sphere of action too remote to attract, in past times, much notice in Europe, but now the western nations are fully acquainted with the great results. In the progress of this History, detailing the advances and successes of our own countrymen, references to the policy and progress of Russia will be necessarily made where they will be more appropriate than in this chapter, because they will be then treated in their relation to the development of English power. It is sufficient here to say, that the position and prospects of the British empire in India and the East cannot be fully understood, or studied with historical unity or political foresight, unless the real position and power of Russia is comprehended and appreciated. Possessing the shores of the Amour, splendid ports and harbours on the Pacific, forts along the Chinese frontier, and a large area of Chinese territory, she is in a position of power and grandeur which will soon be felt by the Chinese empire, and the nations of western Europe which trade with it. On the opposite side of Asia, it is already felt that the quietude of the Affghan frontier of British India may at any time be disturbed by Russian intrigue acting through Persia. That country, from local and religious relation to Affghanistan and the nations of central Asia, can influence numerous tribes of wild and hardy horsemen along the line of British Indian frontiers; and it is, unhappily, certain that Russia has an influence over the Persian court possessed by no other nation, and which is dangerous to the independence of that country and to the peace of British India. It is true that naval and military demonstrations in the Persian Gulf by England can always alarm and humble Persia, but before such demonstrations could prove effective much mischief might be done. The conquest of Persia by Russia cannot be remote, unless France and England deem it politic to unite in supporting Persia, as they did in maintaining the integrity of Turkey. Should Russia possess the present Persian empire, she could from the shores of the Red Sea, and from the confines of Affghanistan, always menace India. Between the two powers a war *à l'outrance* would then be waged for Asiatic empire, in which the whole world would be involved.

That Russia will yet rule at Pekin and Teheran cannot be doubted, unless China and Persia be regenerated or fall within the dominion of England. Whatever the statesman or politician may deem as to the future of the British Empire in India and the East, the development of Russian power in north-eastern and north-western Asia must never be lost sight of as a most important, if not the most potential, element of their calculations. Much that has been written of late years as to the impossibility of Russia penetrating through Central Asia to Hindostan, is utterly irrelevant to the question as to the influence Russia is likely to exercise upon the future of Asia by a continued encroachment on Persian territory on the one hand, and by land and sea upon China on the other. Tamerlane, the Tartar, marched to Moscow, dominated the golden land of the great Mogul, and was only prevented from pouring two hundred thousand men across the frontier of China by the hand of death. He did what all men thought to be impossible until it was done. Alexander marched from Eastern Europe to Hindostan, a feat which is still regarded as beyond belief, were not the evidences irresistible. Russia has herself achieved conquests little short of miraculous, at all events, when the time in which her territory has spread to its enormous extent is considered. There is no impossibility, but there is strong probability that from the positions described above, a hardy, hopeful, obstinate, persevering, ambitious, warlike power, with great resources, such as Russia is, will yet overrun China and Persia, unless frustrated in either or both the modes already stated. If China and Persia be regenerated by intelligence and truth, then the robber power will be kept within its own wide precincts, and perhaps pushed back to its least genial climes; or if the flag of Britain should be borne over those regions by the events of future wars or revolutions, Russia may be baulked of her prey. Otherwise, humanly speaking, her course of conquest will not be checked in Asia until her confines from both east and west of that glorious continent meet at last.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA AND EASTERN ASIA.

THE Portuguese in Asia have been already noticed in a chapter on the commerce of India with the West, and a chapter was devoted to an account of their mission there. The conspicuous part which they had in some of the most stirring events of the Indian empire during the greater part of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and, indeed, their present position there, entitle them to a place in its commercial, political, and military history.

Portugal, though now a kingdom of very limited extent, was formerly much smaller, and came to have a sort of recognised independent existence in the reign of Don Alphonso, King of Castile and Leon. This prince gave his daughter, Donna Theresa, in marriage to a foreign adventurer, who, by his personal merits, had risen to distinction, and with her as a dowry the frontier province, which had been recently wrested from the Moors. The excellence of the situation, its natural beauties and fertility, compensated for its restricted boundaries. In such high estimation is it held, that it is sometimes designated *Medulla Hispanica*, or the Marrow of Spain. To this territory was affixed the title of count. For a period of two hundred years subsequent to this transaction the history of Portugal presents scarcely any event of importance. In 1289 there arose some differences with Castile, which were not adjusted for a long time after. In the reign of King John I., who was married to an English princess (Philippa, the daughter of John, Duke of Lancaster), an invading army from Castile, amounting to thirty thousand men, were defeated, and reprisals made on the Spaniards. The result was a lasting peace. The cessation of this war enabled King John to undertake an expedition against the Moors in Barbary in 1414. He commanded in person. The campaign was successful, and the town of Ceuta fell into his hands. He was impressed with the importance of its situation, and, contrary to the urgent remonstrances of his council, he decided on preserving it, and had it enlarged and more strongly fortified. He garrisoned it with six thousand foot and two thousand horse. This force he considered sufficient to repel the attacks of the Moors.

In the following reign an unsuccessful attempt was made on Tangier, in Barbary. The Portuguese were shut up by the Moors, and the king's son, Don Ferdinand, was given as an hostage for the surrender of Ceuta. The king and council of Portugal refused to fulfil the conditions, retained the place, and left the young prince to the fury of the Moors. The war with Barbary was continued at intervals, and with little success to the Portuguese.

John II. succeeded to his father Alphonso in 1481, and during his reign the maritime enterprise of the Portuguese was developed to an extent never before attempted, and attended with results which have operated to a universal reformation of the geographical and commercial relations of the old world, and discovered a new one. During the reign of Alphonso, the Portuguese, proceeding along the western coast of Africa, stretched as far as Guinea, and opened a trade with the inhabitants. John, as one of the first acts of his government, ordered a fort to be erected, for the purposes of permanent commercial intercourse. The result of this politic step was the influx of ivory and gold, from which the monarch derived a large revenue. In a short time this fort, called *St. George of the Mine*, became a considerable city, and notorious for its traffic in slaves.

The progress which had been made to the south-east revived a project which for centuries had lain in abeyance—a passage by sea to the East Indies. Since the voyage of Nearchus little had been satisfactorily done to explore the southern shores of the Eastern continent, or to become acquainted with the ocean beyond, destined now to be the highway of empires, old, recent, and prospective. John ordered two small squadrons to be equipped to prosecute this inquiry; and in the meantime he prudently sent two of his subjects into India and Abyssinia to trace the communications, and ascertain the resources of these vast and very little known regions. The two travellers, Pedro da Covilhan, and Alphonso de Payva, passed first to Naples, and thence to Rhodes; by the knights established there they were hospitably entertained, and assisted on their journey to Alexandria. There they parted company, Covilhan setting out for India, and Payva for Abyssinia. They had previously arranged on meeting after a certain period at Cairo. Covilhan embarked on the Red Sea, visited the principal cities of India, and prosecuted his journey to the banks of the Ganges, and on his return coasted the shores of Persia, Arabia, and Africa, as far as Mozambique, and there learned that the continent terminated in a great cape far to the south. From Mozambique he returned, as appointed, to Cairo, and heard of the death of his former associate. To glean the information which this death intercepted, he proceeded to Abyssinia; and though he settled in that country, he forwarded to the king the result of his travels, and a chart of the maritime places he had visited. The further prosecution of these discoveries, and the crowning result in Vasco da Gama's success in doubling the Cape and reaching the coast of Malabar, have been previously recorded in these pages.

The Portuguese found the voyage along the south-east coast of Africa very pleasant and prosperous, and in the city of Melinda had the satisfaction of discovering, as well as in other localities on that route, buildings of respectable pretensions, cultivated vegetable productions, and a race of people accustomed to several of the refinements of civilization, and carrying on an active commerce; the women accounted beautiful, and dressed in cottons and silks, and veils with gold lace. Friendly relations were established with the king; some India Christian traders met with; also an able pilot, so expert in navigation, that, on being shown an astrolabe, he took little notice of it, and appeared to be acquainted with more considerable instruments.*

Gama on his arrival intimated his presence to the King of Calicut. Although greatly surprised by this strange arrival of foreigners, who in their aspect, dress, accoutrements, arms, and manners, were dissimilar to the representatives of the various nations that traded on his coast, and who had travelled thither by a route hitherto never ventured on, the Indian prince personally received them with every appearance of admiration and respect. He readily agreed to enter into the most friendly relations with them. The Moors, envious of their success, and fearing the loss of that commerce, of which they had all but a monopoly, soon succeeded in rousing the suspicions and jealousy of the native authorities, and caused the Portuguese to be considered as pirates, and not as ambassadors. Gama and some of his retinue were made prisoners, but he ably managed to escape wiles and force; and though beset at the entrance of the harbour by sixty armed vessels, he extricated himself, and sailed homewards with his ship, filled not only with the products of that coast, but with the rich commodities from the eastern provinces of the peninsula. Two years after his departure to the East he anchored in the Tagus. His crew were seriously diminished: fifty-five returned out of the one hundred and forty-eight who had sailed with him. All the honours which might be expected for such services were heaped upon him by his grateful sovereign. He was created Count of Videguiera, declared Admiral of the Indus, and the office made hereditary in his family.

Few princes have rendered such essential services—not to his subjects alone, but to mankind—as he who now wielded the sceptre of the comparatively insignificant kingdom of Portugal. Under the guidance of Manuel his subjects entered on a new career. Capable of forming projects of the most comprehensive character, and of executing them with diligence and intelligence, he exhibited abilities equally invaluable in that perception of human capabilities which enabled him to select the men best qualified to conduct with success the duties confided to them. It has been stated by no mean authority, "that, happily for Portugal, his discerning eye selected a succession of officers to take the same command in India, who, by their enterprising valour, military skill, and political sagacity, accompanied with disinterested integrity, public spirit, and love of their country, established a title to be ranked amongst the persons most eminent for virtues and abilities in any age or nation. Greater things were achieved by them than were ever accomplished in so short a time." *

Gama reached home in September, 1499, and in the course of a year a fleet of thirteen ships was got ready, and entrusted to the command of Don Pedro Alvarez Cabral. Driven to the south-west of the continent of Africa as he endeavoured to double the Cape, to his astonishment he discovered land—the Brazils. He sent back to Europe one of his vessels to announce his good fortune, and then launched across the Pacific for the coast of Malacca. Though he was received kindly on his arrival at Calicut, this good understanding did not long continue. Through the insidious intrigues of the Moors the Christians were persecuted, and fifty of them massacred. Cabral, to convince them that these aggressions could not be inflicted with impunity, destroyed by fire all the Indian and Arabian vessels in the port; he put the crews to the sword, and appropriated the cargoes; he then directed his cannon against the town, demolished several of the houses, causing great destruction of human life. The Portuguese authorities say fifteen great vessels and five hundred lives were lost.

After this affair the admiral proceeded with some of his vessels to Cochin, and thence back to Cannanore. At both these places he was well received, and every facility afforded of getting his cargo. The native princes resented the treatment they had received from the Rajah of Calicut, and from Cochin and Cannanore ambassadors were sent to the court of Lisbon with presents and an offer of free trade.* Gonzalo Gil Barbosa was left as factor at Cochin to provide lading for the next arrivals.

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* *Faria y Sousa*, vol. i. p. 42, Stevens' translation.

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. x. p 465.

Before this fleet had reached Europe, four ships had sailed from the Tagus, under the command of John de Nova. These vessels arrived at Cannanore, and were there informed that an attack was apprehended from an armament of forty great ships, which were being equipped by the King of Calicut. To prove to the king and people that he had no fear of this force—leaving four factors on shore to prepare goods for his return—he sailed direct for Calicut, and, finding the fleet prepared for the voyage, he fell upon it. During that day and night, and part of the morrow, he kept up an uninterrupted fire, sunk several, and put the rest to flight. Having called at Cochin, he put on board the commodities collected by the factor left there by Cabral, and then proceeded to Cannanore, where he completed his cargoes. On his return he discovered the Island of St. Helena, which proved of great service to subsequent voyagers, by the excellence of its water, and is now, and long will continue to be, famous as the prison-isle of the first Napoleon.

The spirit of the Portuguese was now thoroughly roused, and to the purely worldly considerations were added the stimulants of religious zeal. As has been fully detailed, missionaries had accompanied all their expeditions, and the court of Rome was resolved to extend its all-grasping power over the thousands of millions who crowded the teeming continent and islands of the East. Manuel was inspired with the hope of completing the work which he was assured the Apostle St. Thomas had begun, and of re-establishing the Christian religion in those countries, and of enlarging his royal titles by adding to them, as he did, those of Lord of the Navigation, Conquests, and Trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India,—which was confirmed by the Pope. In March, 1502, he dispatched three squadrons to India: the first consisting of ten ships, under Vasco da Gama; the second of five ships, under Vincent Sodre, to clear the coast of Cochin and Cannanore, and intercept the ships trading to Mecca; and the third under Stephen da Gama: but all the squadrons were under the supreme command of Vasco. On coming to Cannanore, the admiral had an interview with the king upon the shore, to arrange as to the condition on which their commercial intercourse was to be conducted. Without waiting to complete this negotiation, he proceeded close to the shore towards Calicut, to which he had forwarded intelligence of his approach, resolved to avenge the outrages offered to his countrymen, and vowing the destruction of that city. As an instalment of his vengeance, he cruelly hanged thirty Moors at the yardarms; then cutting off their hands, heads, and feet, he threw them into the sea, to be cast on the shore by the tide, proclaiming that their fate was merciful in comparison with the tortures reserved for the murderers of the Portuguese.

Vasco now discovered that three kings had combined to induce him to winter on their shore, and that a fleet of a hundred sail, recently destroyed by storms, was fitted out for this object. The salutary fear which his late summary proceedings had created induced an entire change of policy. The King of Cannanore conceded to apprehensions what he had peremptorily denied to entreaties; and the King of Cochin concluded a treaty both advantageous and durable. A wooden house was erected, and a factor and thirty-two Portuguese were left there to carry on the trade.

A treacherous attempt, attended with great danger, was made to entrap the admiral. Whilst the vessels were receiving their cargoes, a Brahmin of high note, with his son and nephew presented himself, professing a desire of visiting Europe and being instructed in the faith. He also proposed measures of conciliation between him and the King of Calcutta. The possession of the son and nephew as hostages in his hands, induced Vasco to place confidence in this Brahmin, and he was thereby induced to proceed in his ship, and, accompanied by no other vessel in the fleet, in order to visit that port. The Brahmin was landed and was the bearer of several despatches to and from the king; but in the interim one hundred boats were prepared by the Hindoos, which unexpectedly one morning boldly surrounded the Portuguese vessel, and daringly endeavoured to destroy it with fireworks. It was actually on fire, but assistance was at hand, and the enemy suffered severely for their temerity. The Brahmin's relatives were hanged in sight of the city. Vasco shortly after met with their fleet and obtained considerable booty. He then returned with nine ships richly laden to Lisbon. Sodre had been left in care of the coast and factories.

In 1503, the King of Calicut, in the absence of the greater portion of the Portuguese squadron, thought a favourable opportunity was presented of destroying the factory at Cochin. He accordingly marched thither with that object; but though defeated, forced to fly and seek refuge, and his capital burned, he refused to surrender. Having fled to a neighbouring town much easier of defence than Cochin, he was closely besieged and reduced to extremities, when a large naval force arrived, commanded by the celebrated and able man Albuquerque, who repelled the attacking army with very heavy loss. The victors now built a fortress in the territories of their faithful ally Tremumpara, to whose late fidelity they were so greatly indebted. The zamorin, in consequence of this timely succour, was compelled to seek for peace, and the terms which he conceded were very favourable both to the King of Cochin and his European allies. In several engagements both by sea and land the new comers were invariably victorious. A factory was established at Coulam, and the vessels having succeeded in securing freights, both the Albuquerques started for home, the younger brother and his companions were never heard of. Amongst the cargo of the eldest were two horses, one Persian the other an Arab, which were held in great esteem, being the first imported to Portugal. A small garrison for the protection of their trade and ally was left on the Indian coast.

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* De Sousa, vol. i. p. 6.

The Portuguese fleet had scarcely lost sight of its new possession when a powerful confederacy was formed by the neighbouring princes. They drew together fifty thousand men, and attacked Cochin by land and sea. Duarte Pacheco, who had been left in command of the small garrison of St. James, resolved to resist the threatened attack, and encouraged his friend and ally to make all the preparations in his power. The king was left to protect his capital; and the Portuguese, with their inconsiderable force, accompanied by only three hundred Malabars, put to sea in search of their enemies. In several engagements they were victorious. The fertility of expedients, the intrepidity of conduct, the confidence which he inspired, the obedience he commanded, and the consummate success which attended his evolutions, justly place Pacheco among the first men of his own or any other country. He triumphed over every difficulty, and at length the zamorin, foiled in every attempt and conscious of the contempt to which the successive defeats of his formidable force by a mere handful of men, was reduced to abdicate his throne in favour of his nephew.

Pacheco had been scarcely released from this danger when his aid was urgently demanded by the factory at Coulam, which was threatened by five Moorish ships. He hastened to the relief of his countrymen, secured the safety of that harbour and a monopoly of the trade, and spread a wholesome terror of the Portuguese through all the coasts.

On his return to Cochin he found that a large fleet and force had arrived, consisting of thirteen ships, "the largest that had yet been built in Portugal," * and twelve hundred men, commanded by Lope Soarez, who had been joined by some ships he met on his voyage. This fleet first called at Cannanore, and then sailed for Calicut, which town was battered by them for two days; the greater part was reduced to a heap of ruins, and three hundred of the inhabitants sacrificed. Thence they sailed to Cochin, where Pacheco found them. An expedition was then sent against Cranganore, a town within four leagues of Cochin, which, having been fortified by the zamorin, was a great annoyance. It was burnt to the ground, and the Prince of Calicut, who was to have defended it, fled. A friendly treaty was made with the King of Tanore. In 1505, a fleet of the King of Calicut, consisting of seventeen large ships well stored with cannon, and carrying four thousand men, was destroyed by Lope Soarez. The ships' cargoes were consumed, seven hundred Turks were drowned, besides those who perished by fire and sword. This victory cost the Portuguese only twenty-three men. Early in January the following year Soarez sailed, and arrived in July following in Lisbon, with his thirteen victorious vessels laden with rich booty. He was accompanied by the brave and successful Pacheco, who was received with every mark of respect by his sovereign in recognition of his glorious services; but on some accusation was shortly after imprisoned and suffered to die miserably. "A terrible example," says the historian, "of the uncertainty of royal favours and the little regard paid to true merit."

On the twenty-fifth of March there sailed from Lisbon the largest fleet that had, to that time, faced the Indian Ocean. It consisted of twenty-two ships, and conveyed fifteen hundred fighting men. Eleven of these vessels were destined for commercial purposes, and the other moiety were to remain in India. The command was entrusted to the celebrated Don Francisco de Almeida, who was commissioned to govern the late acquisitions with the title of viceroy.

On his landing in India, Almeida sought an interview with the King of Cannanore, and informed him that he came to reside in that country to defend his countrymen against the aggressions of the zamorin, and he demanded permission to erect a fort in the harbour.

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* *Faria y Sousa; Asia Portuguesa.* Tom. i. p. 1, c. vii.

Permission was granted, and on its completion a garrison of one hundred and fifty men was placed in it, and two ships assigned it for the protection of the coast. Having reached Cochin, he learned that the men left in charge of the factory at Coulam were all cruelly butchered by the Moors. Three vessels which he sent thither with orders to procure merchandize, and to omit all notice of the outrages perpetrated, but in case of denial to avenge it, being received in a hostile manner, the town, and twenty-four vessels assembled for its protection, were subjected to a fierce cannonade; the ships were all burnt, and only a few of the crews escaped by swimming.

In reward for his fidelity and protection, the Portuguese authorities at home had commissioned Almeida to crown Tremumpara, the King of Cochin, and had for that purpose brought with him from Lisbon a diadem of gold ornamented with pearls. The old sovereign having resigned in favour of his nephew, Nambeadorim, this intended honour was bestowed upon the latter.

The Zamorin of Calicut was still plotting the expulsion of the Europeans, and had prevailed on the King of Cannanore to enter into his views. Brito, the captain of the fort which had been erected by the Portuguese in the latter place, was unjustly accused of an act of cruelty and perfidy in seizing on a ship from that port with a Portuguese pass, and in having sunk it, and all the Moorish sailors sewed up in a sail, that the act might not be detected by the discovery of any of the mutilated carcasses. Of this deed, perpetrated by one of his countrymen, the captain of the fort was innocent. The two Indian princes had made arrangements to surprise him and his small garrison, and having discovered the design he sought the aid of the viceroy. This was promptly sent, and the little garrison, though beleaguered by a large army and reduced by the accidental loss of their magazine and provisions to feed on vermin, repulsed the enemy with a very great sacrifice of men, not one of their own having fallen in the action. A larger force now arrived to their assistance under the command of the viceroy and Tristan de Cunna, who forced their way up the river through showers of balls; the town was entered, the garrison put to the sword, and all the vessels in the harbour set on fire.

In 1507 Don Francisco de Almeida sent his son Lorenzo as far as Choule, with eight ships, to protect the Portuguese traders along the coasts of Cannanore and Cochin. On his way he captured some Moorish vessels, and obtained intelligence that a fleet was in those waters, commissioned by the Sultan of Egypt to encounter the Portuguese adventurers, and exclude them from the East.

Previous to the discoveries of the Portuguese, the cloves of Amboyna, the nutmeg and mace of Banda, the sandal of Timor, the camphor of Borneo, the gold and silver of the East, the spices, gums, perfumes, and curiosities of China, Siam, Java, and other kingdoms, were first conveyed to Malacca, and thence to the nations west of the Red Sea. This commerce it was that, during the middle ages, had enriched the cities of Calicut, Cambaya, Ormuz, and Aden, which, in addition to the commodities enumerated as coming through Malacca, also had the trade in rubies from Pegu, stuffs from Bengal, pearls from Ceylon, the diamonds of Golconda; the cinnamon, and richer rubies of Ceylon; the pepper, ginger, and other spices of Malabar. From Ormuz they were brought to Europe up the Persian Gulf, to Bassora, at the mouth of the Euphrates, and thence distributed in the caravans through Armenia, Trebizond, Tartary, Aleppo, and Damascus, and to the port of Berut upon the Mediterranean, and from this depot the Venetians, Genoese, and Catalonians, conveyed them to their respective countries. Such of those commodities as had to travel by the Red Sea, were landed at Toro or Suez, towns at the bottom of the isthmus, and thence were borne in caravans to grand Cairo, thence down the Nile to Alexandria, and there shipped. The Italian commercial states and towns of Spain, the Sultan of Egypt, and many other princes and communities were considerable losers by the channels into which this commerce was diverted by the recent discoveries; and, however widely they differed on all other points, they felt they had a common interest in driving the new intruders out of India. To ensure their Eastern possessions, the Portuguese established a factory at Malacca; the Isle of Ormuz, bravely defended by its sovereign, Sheifedin II., had to submit to become tributary, and to the erection of a fortress. On the coast of Sofala another was raised. Thus, along the vast extent of the continent of Africa, from the Straits of Gibraltar to Abyssinia, and along the shores of Asia, from Ormuz to Siam, the flag of Portugal waved triumphantly.

The Venetians were amongst the first to feel the depressing effects on their commerce, and to endeavour to provide a remedy. They entered into a communication with the Sultan of Egypt, and after exciting his worst apprehensions, they offered to provide him with the materials for the construction of a fleet which might be used to cut off the vessels of the Portuguese in the eastern waters. It is more than probable that to the wily counsels of the Italians, is attributable the artful means by which the Turks endeavoured to use the agency of the pope, in accomplishing their objects, before they appealed to arms.

The sultan accounted for his warlike preparations by publicly avowing that his intentions were, in revenge for the outrages offered to the pilgrims on their way to Mecca, to destroy the temple and holy places of Jerusalem. The mediation of the pope was obtained, but by presents well applied by the Portuguese monarch, and by ardent professions of devotion to the holy see, and zeal for the propagation of the faith, he disarmed all hostility on the part of the pontiff. The sultan, deprived of all hopes in that quarter, urged on his other preparations, and entered into correspondence with the Indian Mohammedan princes. With the connivance of these and of his Christian confederates, a large fleet was built and equipped, and dispatched, under the command of Meer Hozem, to the western shores of the Indian peninsula, with commands to pursue and extirpate the foreign infidels who were spreading terror and devastation in their path eastward. This fleet made its appearance as the younger Almeida was steering his course to Choule. The father forwarded immediate instructions to attack the fleet before it could reach the coast, and be reinforced by the natives. The young admiral, who had cast anchor, was attending to pushing on the preparations to execute his father's commands when the Egyptian squadron was seen in sight, and, favoured by wind and tide, was approaching the harbour. The ships succeeded in entering the river, and drew up in order of battle. For two days the engagement was maintained with equal vigour and courage. Hozem was confident of victory, having succeeded in surprising his enemy, and professed his resolution to board the Portuguese admiral, and gave orders to the rest of his ships to board the others. The gallant Almeida, though partially surprised, was not in the least disheartened, and when his adversary neared to the attack, he poured in such a shower of ball, arrows, grenades, and other dangerous missiles, that the Turkish vessel shrunk from the encounter, though far larger than its adversary. Lorenzo now became the assailant, and attempted to board the enemy. Two of his galleys were more successful than their gallant chief, and took two of their opponents and put their crews to the sword. The victory inclined to the Europeans, when the dismayed Mohammedans were relieved by the arrival of Melique Az, the governor of Diu, with a number of small vessels well manned. This unequal conflict was injurious to the men and ships, but it was maintained till the second night separated them. Lorenzo then, under favour of the darkness, held a council of his chief officers, when it was decided that they should endeavour to escape to the open sea, where the fight could be renewed with greater advantage, and with greater facilities for retreat, should circumstances render the latter advisable. In endeavouring to accomplish this manœuvre, the attention of the enemy was attracted, and Lorenzo's ship, running foul of some fishing stakes, made so much water, that her destruction became inevitable. Her consort was drifted out to sea, and the admiral was left exposed to the united attack directed against him. He neglected nothing which became a brave and a skilful commander; and when his thigh was shattered by a ball, he ordered himself to be placed against the mast, where he stood encouraging his men till another shot broke his back. His body was placed under deck, and the vessel was not surrendered. The Turks boarded it, and found Lorenzo's faithful page by the body of his master, bewailing his loss with tears of blood as well as water, having received an arrow in his eye. Mutilated as he was, he rose to defend the corpse, and, having killed as many as covered his master, he then fell upon the heap of slain. Such devotion should leave an imperishable name; his lives—Laurence Freyre Gato. Of one hundred men that were with Lorenzo, only nineteen escaped. Six hundred of the enemy fell. Melique Az, a prince to whose bravery and humanity his enemies testified, prevailed on the survivors to surrender, and paid them every attention, and wrote a letter to Almeida, condoling with him on the death of a son so eminently distinguished. This was the first occasion in which the Portuguese cannon was heard on the shores of the Maharashtra.* Choule then belonged to the kingdom of Ahmednuggur. Although the viceroy received the intelligence of his son's death with apparent submission to the will of the Supreme, and declared that he had much less desired for the youth long life than a distinguished name, and felt in the realization of that aspiration that he had no cause for mourning, as he was now enjoying the rewards of his conduct, he, however, did not exhibit this commendable resignation in his acts. With all the expedition possible he fitted out a fleet of nineteen ships, and embodied an army composed of Portuguese and natives, when his arrangements were interrupted by the arrival of Alphonso Albuquerque with the title of viceroy, and with peremptory orders from the king to Don Francisco de Almeida to resign the government into his hands, and return home in one of the trading vessels. He refused to surrender the dignity until he had concluded the expedition which he was preparing. Albuquerque pressed him to compliance; he pleaded as an excuse that the ship in which he was to return had already departed, and that he should remain to inflict condign punishment on the Turks. To further pressing remonstrances, accompanied with an assurance that ample satisfaction would be exacted for the death of his son, he replied, "That he had taken up the sword, and would never resign it to another to avenge his wrongs." Finding all argument ineffectual, Albuquerque proceeded to Cochin. This refusal to comply with the commands of the sovereign, established a precedent which led afterwards to bad results, and set the royal authority at open defiance.

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* Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. ii. p. 76.

Almeida, on the departure of Albuquerque, proceeded with his armament—confidence in its strength, and the attachment of his officers and forces, induced him to act so independently—as has been just related above. He sailed for Dabul, one of the greatest and most splendid towns on that coast, and which had given its zealous support to the Egyptians. The Portuguese entered the river on the 30th of December, 1508. Francisco de Almeida, who personally commanded, landed his men, and took, plundered, and burnt the town. According to Ossorio and other historians, this conflagration was ordered by the viceroy himself, as the only effectual means left him of putting an end to the plundering.

The combined fleets of the enemy were in the Gulf of Cambay; hither he determined to direct his course. When he entered he found them strongly posted in the harbour of Diu. Though covered by strong batteries, and a sloping network of strong rope, the Portuguese did not hesitate, but advanced to the attack. The conflict was short, sharp, and decisive: all the large vessels were either sunk or taken; the rest, defeated and shattered, sought protection in shallow water. The captured vessels, stored with plunder, amply rewarded the toiling victors. All the European captives were restored unconditionally. This victory was sullied by a disgraceful and unprovoked massacre of his prisoners. On his return to Cochin, Albuquerque was placed under arrest. This Almeida soon regretted, and shortly afterwards he was persuaded to resign his appointment into the hands of his successor, and then set sail for Portugal, which he never reached, being killed in an affray with some naked and contemptible Caffres on the coast of Africa.

Albuquerque being now at the head of the government, hurried his preparations for the reduction of Calicut, the capital of the earliest and most powerful enemy of the Portuguese. With a body of eighteen hundred men, in thirty vessels, and some boats of Malays, who were led by the hope of plunder to accompany the expedition, he set sail, and arrived there on the 2nd of January, 1510. Albuquerque was also accompanied by Coutinho, who had recently arrived with a fleet of fifteen sail, having been sent out by King Manuel, to whom intelligence had been communicated of the preparations made by the Sultan of Egypt, and also of the apprehended refusal of Almeida to surrender his office. This nobleman was entrusted with great powers; and the duties committed to him having been duly executed, he was on the eve of departure for Europe when this armament was ready to sail. Ambitious of fresh laurels, he insisted on being permitted to take a prominent part upon this occasion. The honourable post he sought was conceded by his friend. The difficulties to their landing they found very great. The town was surrounded with jungle, and could be approached by narrow avenues only, which left the troops no space for their files and evolutions. The army was therefore divided, and it was agreed that the two commanders should advance with separate divisions. To Coutinho was assigned eight hundred men, and some fieldpieces. Albuquerque led an equal number, and a supplementary body of eight hundred Malays. They remained under arms all night, through their eagerness to land, but the sound of the signal to march and the discharge of cannon drowned all their fatigue in the military ardour they evolved. They marched with great confusion, as both parties were emulous of performing the most distinguished feat. The followers of Albuquerque first reached the defences, and charged the six hundred men who were posted at their point of attack, who, though they vigorously received the assault, were compelled to succumb to their intrepid assailants, and in a few minutes the Portuguese were in possession. Coutinho, whose progress had been retarded, did not arrive until the banner of Portugal was planted on the wall of the captured fortress, and was chagrined that he had had no part in the matter. He indulged in the bitterest reproaches, and charged his friend Albuquerque with having by his contrivances robbed him of his share of the glory. He insultingly added, "Were you ambitious that the rabble of Lisbon should trumpet your renown as the conqueror of Calicut, and that our sovereign should yield you all the credit? Were that your vain-glorious object, you will be disappointed. On my arrival I shall tell the king I could have entered the town with only this cane in my hand; and since I find nobody to fight with, I will not rest satisfied till I enter the palace of the zamorin, and dine in his halls." Haughtily disdaining to await any explanation, he commanded his troops to march to that quarter. His progress was disputed as he impetuously and successfully cut his way for the space of five leagues, encumbered with a continuous grove of palms that lined the way. When he reached the palace, he found it formed a little town, strongly walled in, and, in fact, the only fortification in Calicut. The main strength of the army also was posted there. The brave Portuguese was not disheartened by these discoveries. For him the difficulties sweetened the labour, and enhanced the prospective rewards. Giving a short respite to the soldiers, he made a fierce assault on the gates. His impetuosity was irresistible; the enemy fled to the mountains, and the royal residence was at the mercy of the victors, who were soon engrossed in appropriating the wealth with which they were profusely surrounded. They were blinded by their cupidity to the fearful consequences of their disorganization and recklessness, and acted with as little precaution as if the enemy had been destroyed as well as defeated. They were soon called to a sense of their folly. The foe had been expelled, but not crushed. Animated by the paucity of their number, and their present imprudent behaviour, a body of thirty thousand well-armed men returned to renew the contest. Several of the Portuguese, encumbered with spoil, were killed. During the progress of Coutinho, and the occupation of the palace, Albuquerque had entered the city, and set fire to the houses, and then resolved to ascertain what Coutinho had done, who had foolishly neglected to keep open the communications with the rear. Having followed in his track, and arrived at the scene of action, he found him and his companions surrounded by an armed and resolute host, in the most imminent danger. He discovered means of communicating the fact of his presence to Coutinho, and in the meantime endeavoured to prevent the pressure on him of the enemy on the outside. After some considerable delay, and in reply to a third message, Albuquerque was informed that he might proceed towards the fleet, and that Coutinho, then engaged in collecting his men, who had dispersed in all directions, would follow. On his march Albuquerque learned that his colleague's life was in danger; he attempted, but in vain, to cut his way back to his relief. It was too late. The Indians in multitudes thronged the intervening street. The tops of the houses were crowded with armed assailants, and from windows, turrets, and every covert he was assailed with clouds of darts. The bravest of his men fell around him: entangled in the narrow streets, lanes, and avenues, he could neither advance nor retreat; his own fate hung trembling in the balance. The flames of the burning houses at last gleamed upon his path, and forced his scorched assailants to clear his way. The gallant Albuquerque escaped almost by a miracle; he was wounded in the throat with a dart, in the head with a stone, and was so faint that he was borne senseless to the shore. Coutinho, when sensible of his imminent danger, placed himself at the head of his men, and fought like a lion. Though the palace around him was in flames, and he surrounded by an infuriated host, he bravely endeavoured to cut a passage through them; he at length fell, and in endeavouring to defend him officers of the noblest families in Portugal shared his fate. Eighty of the Portuguese were slain, and three hundred wounded. In so severe an encounter, and taken so by surprise, it is scarcely credible their loss was so small. Their own historians are the only accessible authorities, and it is to be suspected that truth has been frequently sacrificed to national vanity.

The ardour of the viceroy was not moderated by this disaster. He had no sooner recovered from his wounds than he directed his attention to the extension of his conquests. His intended enterprise was not directed against the capital of the zamorin, but on the acquisition of some town on the sea-coast, which might be established as a capital for the Portuguese colonists. The Island of Ormuz appeared to him the best selection, and thither he steered, about the end of January, 1510, with seventeen hundred men in twenty-one vessels, of all sorts and sizes. Timora, an Indian pirate, who visited him on his way, drew his attention to Goa, a town on the sea-coast of the Deccan, in the district called Canara, which has since become famous as the military, civil, commercial, and religious capital of the Portuguese empire in the East.

Timora had been originally an Indian chief. He had been dispossessed of his inheritance by his relatives, and harshly treated by his neighbours. He became a pirate, and the captain of a numerous and daring body of Indian adventurers. He attached himself to the Portuguese, and proved himself a trusty friend. In all probability he was induced to cultivate the friendship of the Europeans in the hope, with their aid, of being able to avenge his injuries, and to recover his lost power. On this memorable occasion he pointed out the superiority of Goa to Ormuz. Goa had been only recently conquered by the Moguls, and annexed to Delhi. The convulsions by which that power was shaken in the commencement of the seventh century, have been already detailed, and the capture of Goa glanced at. Amid the disruption of the cumbrous and unwieldy components of that empire, the severance of the Deccan, and the growth of the three states, which from vice-royalties grew into independent kingdoms, an opportunity was afforded for the assertion of similar pretensions in the south, and amongst other kingdoms, first rose that of Narsinga, with its capital, Bisnagor. But the most powerful of these at this time was Goa, whose sovereign bore the title of zabaim. Timora informed Albuquerque that this prince was involved in war with several states of the interior, that he was now absent in some distant campaign, that his resources were absorbed, and his capital left unprotected, an easy prey to the first powerful invader. As an assurance of his confidence in the propriety of his recommendation and the issue, he proffered the co-operation of his own force, amounting to twelve ships.

No time was lost, on the 25th of February the combined fleets of these freebooters—Hindoo and Christian—cast anchor in the harbour of Goa. The forts for its protection were captured without delay, and the ships drawn up close to the walls. The inhabitants, who were chiefly engaged in commercial pursuits, alarmed by the threatened storming of their city, and the treatment to be expected from their unscrupulous and exacting enemies, reluctantly presented themselves to the Portuguese to make an offer of surrender, upon condition that their lives, liberties, and estates should be secured. The offer was accepted. Albuquerque entered the city, and was received with as much homage as could have been paid to the legitimate sovereign. He applied himself to the restoration of order and public confidence, and the measures he pursued to accomplish these ends were hailed with public approval. He dispatched embassies to the neighbouring courts, proffering friendship and soliciting alliances. The towns dependant on Goa awaited no advances; as soon as they learned the fall of the metropolis they immediately proffered their submission, and were, as might be presumed, kindly received. It must be confessed, however unjustifiable his designs on Goa were, when in possession he faithfully fulfilled every stipulation, and with great prudence endeavoured to establish his power on the attachment of the people. The command of the fort was conferred on one of his principal officers, Don Antonio de Noronnah; the government of the natives on Timojee, and the officers of the late administration were continued in their posts. This pleasant state of things was not fated to continue. The zabaim, as soon as he heard of the sudden reverse of fortune and the loss of his capital, suddenly concluded peace with his adversaries, and turned his attention to home. He induced several of them to make common cause with him, and to assist in driving from their vicinity an enemy whose object was to crush them all in turn. An army of forty thousand men were quickly under his command, all breathing vengeance against the hated foreign invaders. The natives properly held everything as secondary to the necessity of their immediate overthrow. The zabaim had, as might be expected, a great number of adherents in the city on whose loyalty he might reckon. They had assured him of their fealty and assistance. He had been four months in possession when the expected foe appeared at the gates. Albuquerque rested his hopes on defending the approaches. He fortified all the strong points of defence, and stationed chosen troops at them, covering them with walls and intrenchments. A danger now manifested itself which had not been anticipated, and one which was calculated to frustrate his best efforts and genius. Amongst his army there arose a numerous party, who looked upon the attempt to retain the town as insanity. They argued, and not without plausibility, that it was imprudent in the highest degree to expect to be able, in the midst of a hostile population, with no possibility of succour from home or elsewhere, to offer resistance to the numerous army by which they were beset. The towering ambition of the viceroy was too lofty to look down upon those common-place calculations. To his all-grasping spirit nothing seemed impossible. With him, as with Napoleon le Grand, there was no such word as *impossibility* in his vocabulary. He indignantly scouted the craven fears that suggested the idea of abandoning a prize so magnificent. His displeasure did not convince the dissentients, who protested against sacrificing to the temerity of one the whole army, and the future prospects of the Indo-Portuguese. Nine hundred of them conspired to strip him of his power, and consult as best they could for the common safety. Their machinations were not conducted with such privacy as to escape his observation. Having timely notice he surprised them in secret conclave, imprisoned the leaders, and pardoned the rest.

A conspiracy of the natives being detected in the city four hundred of them were cut to pieces with the sword. Baffled in every attempt, the enemy at length decided on a nocturnal attack. On the 17th of May, in the darkness of night and storm, the Indians advanced in two bodies, and succeeded, in spite of every opposition, to force their way into the island, being assisted by some outburst in the city; the Portuguese were obliged to retire to the fort, and this from necessity was soon evacuated. This hazardous feat was accomplished with characteristic resolution. Albuquerque privately sent on board his guns, ammunition, and provisions, and having seen his troops embarked, he was the last who entered the flag-ship. His escape might have been effected without the cognizance of the enemy, had not the explosion of a magazine aroused them. This accident led to an encounter, in which Albuquerque had his horse killed under him. The siege had lasted twenty days.

It was resolved to pass the winter in some convenient harbour on that coast. It was not the intention of the viceroy to waste even that season in inglorious inactivity. His proud spirit burned to atone for the late ill-fortune, and he was also anxious to revive the spirit and confidence of his men. A portion of the native confederate troops were encamped at Pangin, near Goa, and strongly intrenched. From this post ships were frequently dispatched to annoy the Portuguese. The guns of the fort also seriously incommoded them. This Albuquerque determined to surprise. Three hundred men were appointed on this expedition. They approached the shore in deep silence, and suddenly landed at the break of dawn; and then with drums and trumpets sounding, and with shouts which echoed through the quiet morn, they rushed on the slumbering enemy. The Indians, startled from their sleep by the unusual din, fled without striking a blow in defence of their tents and baggage. A great quantity of cannon, stores, and provisions, were left behind. Shortly after, a successful attack was made upon a squadron sailing to attack them, and some of the Portuguese having exhibited a daring proof of bravery—it is a pleasing duty to have to record an instance of chivalrous courtesy where it was least to be expected—the zabaim, having witnessed it, sent one of his officers to express his admiration of the heroism displayed; a polite answer was returned, and this exchange of civilities led to negotiations for peace, which led to no satisfactory results.

After these exploits, the Portuguese sailed to Cannanore, and there refitted their fleet and planned new conquests. Albuquerque did not yet resign his pretensions to Goa. He resolved on a second attempt on it. He had been reinforced by the arrival of thirteen ships which Manuel had dispatched to strengthen his Indian squadron.

Albuquerque sailed from Cannanore with a fleet of twenty-three vessels and fifteen hundred fighting men. On his way he was joined by three ships, which were sent to his aid by his confederate Timojee, who promised to join him at Goa with six thousand men. His strongest assurance of success was the impolitic absence of the zabaim, who was again engaged in prosecuting some quarrel with the sovereign of Narsinga. On the 22nd of November the Portuguese cast anchor a second time before the devoted city. Although it had been recently strongly fortified, and was defended by nine thousand men, before the arrival of the promised contingent from Timojee he commenced operations, and soon drove the enemy within the walls. As the latter were in the act of shutting the gate, Fernandoo Melos thrust in a long spear, which prevented it from closing; his soldiers made a desperate effort to turn this to their advantage, and eventually succeeded in entering the town with the fugitives, and though a fierce conflict hand to hand was maintained from the gate to the distant palace, the Portuguese flag again waved triumphantly from the captured battlements. Six thousand of the enemy had fallen, and only fifty of the victors. The glory of this achievement was tarnished by uncalled-for cruelty. The dead and wounded were cast a prey to the crocodiles, and not one Mohammedan was left alive in the island. An immense booty fell into the viceroy's hand, which enabled him to prosecute effectively the grand conceptions of his ambition.

To the natives, inoffensive agriculturists, he behaved with moderation; to them he restored their lands. Ambassadors from the princes of that country came to congratulate him on his success.

To consolidate his power was his next undertaking. He laid the foundation of a fort, which he named Emanuel after his sovereign; other useful works were also erected, and nothing was neglected which it was thought would contribute to render Goa a suitable capital for an eastern empire, and it actually became the bulwark of the Portuguese power in India. The viceroy perceived how essential to the stability of his power would be an incorporation of the conquerors and conquered; he endeavoured to effect this politic and desirable result. Several females, some belonging to the best families in the land, had fallen into his hands in the capture of the town; these he treated with the highest respect and consideration, and having induced them to profess Christianity, he portioned them with lands, houses, or employments, he gave them in marriage to his European followers, and bestowed on the husbands some of his best appointments. The principal native families, finding the advantages of these connexions, availed themselves of the opportunity of further extending them.

Matters being thus far satisfactorily adjusted, Albuquerque now proposed to himself the accomplishment of projects which had been postponed as secondary to what had been just achieved. These were the conquest of Ormuz, the magnificent emporium of the Persian Gulf, on which he had made an attempt on his voyage to India, and which was snatched from his grasp almost in the moment of victory; and Malacca, considered then as the key of the remotest regions and islands of the East. To lull all suspicion of his immediate purpose he promulgated a report that Ormuz was his destination, and actually sent some ships there. He first sailed to Cochin, and thence set out for Malacca, on the 2nd of May, with nineteen sail and fourteen hundred fighting men, eight hundred of whom were Europeans, the rest natives.

The Portuguese entered the harbour of Malacca on the 1st of July, and found it crowded with vessels from all parts of maritime Asia, and the islands. The trade of the East and West had added to the wealth and population. Mohammed, who then reigned there, had greatly added to his power and popularity by the defeat of an army of forty thousand men, sent against him by the King of Siam. On this occasion he had recourse to those treacherous practices of which the Portuguese had frequently cause to complain, and the punishment of which he had now serious cause to apprehend. On this occasion he had recourse to the King of Siam, who placed a large contingent at his disposal, and by this his army was increased to thirty thousand men, and his artillery consisted of eight thousand pieces of cannon; but as De Faria remarks,* his fear was far greater than his preparations. With this force, and aid also from some neighbouring princes, Mohammed, the King of Malacca, made a vigorous defence, and availed himself of several appliances, movable wooden turrets, cannon, poisoned arrows, and thorns, and floats of wild-fire drifted down the river, to burn the ships; but the intrepidity of the Portuguese, inspired by their fearless chief, overcame all opposition; the enemy were compelled to fly, and Albuquerque was left master of the city. A fort was erected, which was called Famosa, from its beauty; and a church, which was dedicated to the visitation of the Virgin. With his characteristic discretion he settled the government on a conciliatory basis; established friendly relations with Siam, Java, and Sumatra; interchanged embassies with them; dispatched a party to discover the Molucca Islands and Banda, and offered to all nations in the habit of trading with Malacca, more liberal terms than they had previously enjoyed. He left De Brito Patalim to command the fort, with above three hundred men, and the like number to command the sea in ten ships, under Perez de Andrade. Albuquerque had returned home with four vessels.*

During this successful expedition, encouraged by his partizans within the city, the zabaim made a powerful effort to recover his lost capital. His commander succeeded in forcing his way into the island, in erecting a strong fort called Benaster, and reduced the Europeans to great straits. By the arrival of the viceroy the aspect of things was altered, his supremacy effectively re-established, and the complete expulsion of the enemy effected. His projected expedition for the subjugation of Ormuz—a conquest of great consequence to the maintenance of the supremacy of the Portuguese in the East—now had indisputable possession of his thoughts. Two attempts were frustrated. Defeat but strengthened his resolution. With a formidable armament—his troops numbering fifteen hundred Europeans and six hundred Asiatics—he made his final attempt. The king did not dare resist this force; he readily conceded permission to erect a fort, and when this was completed, confident of his power to enforce his demands, Albuquerque suggested to the prince the propriety of transporting all the cannon which frowned from the bulwarks of his capital to this station. The unfortunate king had no alternative, and thus the celebrated Ormuz became a Portuguese establishment.

In a declining state of health Albuquerque longed to return to India, and had some hopes that the change of climate would facilitate his recovery. But a blow impended which wounded his pride and aggravated his disorders. As he coasted along the shores of Cambay, information met him that a squadron had arrived in India commanded by Lope Soarez, the man whom he most detested, and that he was appointed his successor. Hearing this he cried out, "It is time for me to take sanctuary in the church, for I have incurred the king's displeasure."* He was seized with profound melancholy, and arrived at Dabul almost in the arms of death. Upon the bar of Goa, which he called his land of promise, he expired on the 16th of December, in the sixty-third year of his age. "He was twice before Ormuz, twice before Goa, twice before Malacca; three famous islands and kingdoms in Asia over which he gloriously triumphed." †

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* *De Faria y Sousa*, vol. i. p. 176.

* A marvellous tale is told by De Faria: "A Malay, though pierced with several mortal wounds by the Portuguese, to the general astonishment of all shed not one drop of blood, but when a bracelet of bone had been removed from his arm, the blood gushed out. The Indians discovered the secret, saying it was the bone of an animal of Java, which has that virtue. The bracelet was esteemed a great prize, and brought to Albuquerque."—*De Faria y Sousa.*

Portuguese historians have not recorded the cause of his disgrace; nor does it appear that his sovereign softened in any way the harshness of his conduct in his recall, and the appointment of his avowed enemy to the chief command in the East.

Under his successful administration the Portuguese empire in the East attained nearly its greatest limits, only a few places on the remoter coast of Africa were added to it, and two or three minor settlements on the coast of Coromandel. This splendid empire, with the exclusive commerce between Europe and India, they retained for upwards of a century.

The chief duty imposed on Lope Soarez, the successor of Albuquerque, was the destruction of the fleet which had been equipped by the Sultan of Egypt, and was stationed in the Red Sea. As soon as he was formally settled in his new government, he began to make preparations for the performance of that task, and with a formidable armament sailed from Goa and anchored at Aden. This important town was then threatened by Soliman, the admiral of the Egyptian fleet; the inhabitants sought the protection of the Portuguese, and proffered the surrender of it to Soarez. Though it was the most valuable station the Europeans could have in the Indian seas, and its value appreciated not only by Albuquerque but also by each of his predecessors, Lope declined the offer, as he had no instructions in relation to it.‡ This expedition was a miserable failure, and Aden, which recently invited his rule and protection, insulted him with impunity on his return. During his absence Goa was nearly lost, and was saved through the valour of two captains who volunteered their services, and by some concessions to the enemy. Some factories about this time were established on the coast of Bengal, on the coast of China below Canton, and in the Molucca Islands. The violence of the Portuguese soon incurred the wrath of the Celestials, and also of the authorities of Bengal. From both nations they were expelled, and in the Moluccas their tenure was very insecure indeed.

In 1518 this weak imbecile, Soarez, was recalled, and Sequiera was nominated his successor. To him fortune was equally unfriendly. Malacca was disturbed with new troubles, which were but imperfectly quelled. A squadron sent to avenge the late failure in the Red Sea returned ingloriously; in Cannanore the fort was attacked by the natives, and defended with severe loss to the Europeans. The affairs of the Portuguese were never in a more perilous condition.

At the close of the year 1521 Manuel died, after one of the most glorious reigns on record. He was, in every respect, a great monarch. His fame extended as far as the wings of commerce could waft it; and his little kingdom, under his enlightened administration, grew wealthy and powerful. His ambassadors visited the courts of all the potentates of his time. They were dispatched to the King of England and to the sovereign of Abyssinia, to the monarch of Congo and the Sultan of Egypt, to the Shah of Persia and the Emperor of China, and all of them were distinguished by a magnificence suitable to the lord of so many regions, and whose sway was acknowledged on every continent of the globe.

When his son and successor Joam ascended the throne, Don Duarte de Meneses was viceroy of India. Incited by Xaref, the minister of the King of Ormuz, an attack was made on the Portuguese fort, several of the garrison were put to the sword, and the rest besieged in the citadel, to which they retired for safety. Coutinho, the governor, sent to Goa for reinforcements, but before they could have arrived the Portuguese had retrieved their reverses, and the minister and king were compelled to fly to a neighbouring fort. Here the unfortunate prince was assassinated, because he advised an accommodation with the Europeans, and to the disgrace of the avaricious viceroy, the murderer, Xaref, instead of punishment, had conferred upon him, on payment of a large sum of money, the government of Ormuz. This Portuguese wretch was no exception to the others, on whom had now devolved the government of the various Asiatic settlements. The same rapacity and venality are laid to the charge of the governors of Cochin, Calicut, Malacca, the Moluccas, and of every place cursed with their degenerate and detestable rule. To remedy this disgraceful abuse of power, and to restore, if possible, the national honour, the now venerable Vasco da Gama, the celebrated discoverer of the Indian peninsula, was dispatched by the court of Lisbon. What services he might have rendered to humanity and his sovereign are not left to the historian to recapitulate, for his new career, commenced with a vigorous repression of crimes and abuses, was cut short by death at Cochin.

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* "Tempo es de acogerme a la Iglesia; Vassi quedo yo mal con el Rey."—*Faria y Sousa.*

† "Dos veses se mostrò a Ormuz, dos a Goa, y a Malacca dos. Tres islas y coronas celebres en Asia."—*Ibid.*

‡ This strange conduct on the part of Lope seems to be inexplicable, particularly when it is remembered what an effort, and ineffectual, his predecessor made to gain it. Perhaps a clue to its explanation is to be found in the dismissal of Albuquerque, and that his offence was the prosecution of conquests for which he had no authority from home. Fears may have been entertained that an empire so extensive and remote, acquired independent of instructions, would soon cease to acknowledge the authority of the small parent state.

His successor was Henrique de Meneses, brother of Duarte. This nobleman possessed the qualifications to realize the reformation which Vasco had commenced. His virtues made him the terror of both the licentious Portuguese and hostile natives. He gained a splendid victory over the Rajah of Calicut, an inveterate enemy. He did not live to reap all the fruits of it, nor to eradicate those evils he knew so well how to correct. He breathed his last at Cannanore. The proceeds of all his goods did not defray the expenses of his funeral. His short experience convinced him of the great risks to be run in maintaining in Calicut a fortress already exposed to the attacks of the zamorin. A few months before his death, he decided on transferring the settlement to Diu, near the entrance of the Gulf of Cambay, in the kingdom of Gujerat. His successor, Pedro Mascarenhas, impressed with the sound policy of this removal, prepared to effect it. To obtain possession of Diu by arms was no easy matter. It was strongly fortified by art as well as by nature, and the sovereign of Cambay, one of the most powerful princes of western India, was sure to come to its defence. It was resolved to obtain possession of it by negotiation, and a liberal expenditure of money. These negotiations, however, were suspended by the substitution of a new viceroy, Sampeyo, which led to some serious differences, which proved detrimental to the interests of the empire.

In 1529 Nuno da Cunha was sent out to take the command and supersede Sampeyo. He commenced his government auspiciously; on his way out, he called at Ormuz, recovered that island, and sent the blood-stained traitor, Xaref, to Lisbon in chains. On his arrival at Goa he, too, was convinced of the importance of removing to Diu, and pronounced it essential to the security of the Portuguese possessions and commerce. He commenced his preparations for besieging it. He collected such a formidable force, that when he presented himself before its walls it was surrendered without the discharge of a shot; and, when in his possession, every effort made by the king for its recovery was defeated.

The Sultan of Egypt, though he had suspended operations in the Indian waters, had not relinquished his hopes in that quarter. He now entered into a treaty with the Mohammedan King of Cambay, and in the fulfilment of his part of the conditions sent a fleet under the command of Soliman Pasha, admiral of the Sublime Porte, to co-operate in the expulsion of the odious Christians from the Eastern seas. Diu was assaulted, but the small garrison, only seven hundred—fighting forty to one—bravely kept their own. Enraged as well as disappointed by this heroic defence, the Egyptians sought the aid of the King of Calicut to exterminate the "infidel dogs," proffering in return the protection of the sultan. The proud zamorin spurned the idea of protection, "Tell thy master," was the reply, "that the sovereigns of Calicut need no protection, but are the protectors of other kings; and never receive presents, they always bestow them." This siege is considered one of the most memorable in the annals of Portuguese rule in Asia, and thus justifies a more general notice. Exploits of the most daring valour were performed, nor was the honour of them and the labour shared by the men alone. The fairer sex were their rivals in courage and enthusiasm. Donna Isabella de Vega assembled all the women in the forts, and, in glowing terms, depicted to them the incessant toil imposed upon the men, in their uninterrupted efforts to repel the incessant attacks of an army, that numbered twenty-seven thousand strong. She induced her audience to undertake the reparation of the breaches. Another heroine, Ann Fernandez, the wife of a physician, ran from post to post fearless of the missiles which fell around her, cheering and encouraging the soldiers; and seeing her son fall in one of the attacks, she rescued his body, bore it to a place of safety, and having performed a mother's duty, she rushed to her post, and there stopt till the day's deadly work had ended, then she performed the obsequies of her gallant boy. Such examples kindled an enthusiasm superior to all obstacles. For weeks was this conflict thus heroically maintained. At length the enemy, wearied and exasperated, resolved on a final and general assault. To lull all suspicion they began to withdraw their galleys, as if preparing for raising the siege. At midnight they suddenly returned, and, applying their scaling-ladders to the sea-wall, they made the assault. The garrison were soon aroused. They rushed to the defences; hand to hand they grappled with the foe; deeds of superhuman valour were in that encounter performed; fifteen hundred of the assailants met a warrior's death; the enemy had made their last effort, and the liberated garrison of heroes were rewarded when morning lit the landscape, by seeing the canvas of the Egyptian fleet filled with the auspicious gale that bore them to their distant homes. On reviewing his gallant band, Sylveira found that not more than forty of them were fit for duty.

The next nobleman who was appointed to the viceroyalty, by Joam, was Estevan da Gama, the son of the celebrated Vasco. He was a man of consummate ability, and, what seldom happens, proved himself to be as able a man as his father. He established a college in Goa for the education of the higher classes of Hindoos; and when the Turks attacked the Christian sovereign of Abyssinia, he chivalrously defended him. He also waged a war of extermination against the corsairs who frequented the Indian seas, and succeeded in their expulsion.

This able man was succeeded, in 1542, by Alphonso de Sousa, who was accompanied by Xavier, as previously stated. In the year of his arrival the Europeans first reached the islands of Japan.

The power of the Portuguese was felt and feared along the shores of eastern, southern, and south-western India, and in the numerous islands clustered in the Indian Ocean; Ceylon bent to their yoke, and many of its inhabitants embraced its religion. Their domination might have been co-extensive with that of Great Britain at a subsequent period, were it not for their gross abuse of their opportunities. To sordid purposes they sacrificed honour and religion; for greedy lucre they violated every moral obligation. The rapid extension of the power which culminated to its height before the grave closed over the remains of its first Portuguese visitor, was equalled by its more rapid declension, the effect of the abuse of its mission. The visit to Japan would have been a source of wealth to Europe, and of salvation to thousands, had not the heinous enormities of these professing Christians outraged humanity. The Japanese, who were in close communication with the natives of the Moluccas, were horrified by the excesses perpetrated there. The Portuguese had gained possession of two princes, sons of the late King of Ternate. These they liberated, in the hope of being enabled, under the semblance of the authority of a nominal king, to rule absolutely over his dominions. The eldest, with this object, was placed upon the throne; but, not being found a pliant or effective tool, he was degraded by Fonseca, the Portuguese governor, and his younger brother substituted. A new governor was shortly after sent from Europe, who, on some paltry pretext, arrested the king and sent him to Goa. No offence could be proved against him, and he was consequently honourably discharged, but he died on his return. There was still remaining of these puppets of royalty a bastard brother. The Portuguese raised him to the throne. His mother, a Javanese and Mohammedan, aware of the dangers which surrounded his elevation, endeavoured to dissuade him from its acceptance. Ataide, the European governor, was informed of her interference, and, incensed at the discovery, had the mother, in the sight of her son, thrown from a high window, and she was killed by the fall. This outrage was generally resented; the natives retaliated, and massacred all the Portuguese they could lay hands upon. The summary of their proceedings is not exaggerated in the following quotation:—"Under the pretence of commerce, obtaining from the incautious natives permission to build a citadel, they uniformly perpetrated atrocities. Their odious domination was founded in hypocrisy; was cemented by violence and blood; was crowned with rapacity and insolence."

Sousa was succeeded by Castro, under whom the garrison of Diu again obtained immortal fame.

Passing over the intermediate events, till the year 1570, we then arrive at a period, the most critical in which the Portuguese colonists were ever placed. Don Louis de Ataide was then governor. The zamorin, who had still preserved his independence, had entered into negotiations with the court of Delhi, and Adil Khan and Nizam-ool-Moolk were commanded to give him all the aid he could. An alliance was formed for the expulsion of the Europeans. The capture of Goa, the seat of their power, was the first object of the confederation. Adil Khan, with an army amounting to one hundred thousand men, marched upon it. The Portuguese had only seven hundred men and some armed slaves, and were encumbered with thirteen hundred monks. A reinforcement of fifteen hundred men from the Moluccas was afterwards received. With this small force, after a siege of several months, the enemy was obliged to retire, with the loss of twelve thousand men. At Choule, near Bombay, Nizam-ool-Moolk was vigorously conducting his operations. The prospect of defence was less hopeful here than at Goa. Choule was situated on the continent, and defended only by a single wall, with a fort only a very little superior to a simple private dwelling. In a short time the wall was demolished, a battery of seventy cannon being incessantly played upon it. Every house was garrisoned in the path of the assailants, and defended with intrepid valour; various assaults were successfully repelled, and the Moguls eventually were obliged to withdraw, having formed a league offensive and defensive. The zamorin did not act faithfully by his allies during the progress of the war; he made repeated efforts to come to terms with the Portuguese; every advance was haughtily rejected by the proud and confident chief.

By such daring confidence and valorous acts, the little kingdom of Portugal, during the whole of the sixteenth century, maintained its supremacy in the East; and even when in their decadence, the prestige attached to their name awed into submission and cowardice those states which had previously felt the edge of their swords.

The opening of the seventeenth century introduced into India a new European element. The enterprising mariners of the lowlands had defeated Alva, thrown off the yoke of Philip of Spain, adventured from the dykes to the broad waters, coasted Africa, and reached the wealth-yielding realms of the East, there to dispute, with the all but effete Portuguese, the monopoly of Asiatic commerce. The history of the Dutch in India is reserved for another chapter.

CHAPTER XLVII.

ADVENT OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA—BRITISH EASTERN EXPEDITIONS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

The Mohammedan conquerors of India entered the land for the avowed purposes of plundering the people or subjugating the territory. The Portuguese and Dutch merely contemplated the opening up of commercial intercourse, and the maintenance of a trading monopoly. After a short interval of trade each of those nations became desirous of acquiring land, and the first-named formed ultimately the ambitious design of ruling "the Indies." The English were actuated by no greed of territory. The idea of conquest in such a region never entered the head of the most ambitious Englishman. The conception formed in England of "the Great Mogul" was that of a potentate very mighty, perhaps the most powerful in the world. It was supposed that his court was the most splendid, not only in the East, but on the earth; that his throne was gold, ivory, and pearl, glittering with the rarest jewels, and diamonds of the purest water. The jewelled turban of the emperor, or the jewelled hilt of his sword, was supposed to equal in value European cities or provinces. Hosts of cavalry, numbered by the million, and war-elephants, counted by hundreds of thousands, were believed to be at the command of that all-powerful monarch. The extent of the regions submitting to his sway was exaggerated in an extraordinary degree, vast as these realms really were. Rich as the soil of India was, its fertility was, if possible, magnified. Mines of diamonds and precious stones in the remoter provinces, sufficient to adorn all the courts in the world, were, in English opinion, part of the monarch's exhaustless wealth. It was thought certain that the vigilant Portuguese, and persevering Dutch, were likely to possess a lucrative traffic in the costly spices and gems of the East, and it was deemed unworthy of British spirit to permit it. To share with the adventurous Lusitanians and Hollanders in the rich rewards of such a trade was the only ambition of the English people when they first sought the shores of India. If another ambition ruled them, it was to prove their naval and commercial superiority to the rival maritime countries of Europe, then successfully engaged in Indian commerce. To force out the Spaniards and Portuguese, and afterwards the Dutch, from monopoly, or even ascendancy, in the trade of the East, was the only employment of arms which the British thought of; indeed, the prevailing feeling upon the subject among all enlightened Englishmen, political and commercial, was, that all exercise of force, or even display of it, towards the natives of India, was impolitic and perilous. The conquest of any of the princes of India—even the smallest tributary to the Great Mogul—would have been regarded as a wild dream of folly and ambition, not only to be denounced but to be laughed at. There was no objection to combat with the ships of European states, so as to inconvenience them in their commerce, and open up a prospect of securing with less opposition the chief trade of the Eastern seas; but towards the Indians there was rather a disposition to act submissively than boldly, and to win them to trade by enduring some indignities, and avoiding all demonstration of power. Had any one in those days affirmed that the time would come when the British flag would float in undisputed supremacy in the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal, from the Straits of Babelmandel and the Persian Gulf to the Yellow Sea, and on shore, from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, from Kurrachee to Malacca, he would have been set down as insane, or as ridiculing the genius and enterprise of the English people. Even for commercial purposes it was not easy to awaken English enterprise in connection with India. After Stevens, Fitch, and Leedes, very early British adventurers in that land of fable and romance, had detailed to the English public the realities they had witnessed, and although the jealousy entertained of the Portuguese could not fail to stir the spirit of a people of such maritime enterprise, it was difficult to obtain subscriptions to a company for trading with the East Indies. But even when the trading spirit of the London merchants was thoroughly roused, and the English were already of importance in the Eastern seas, nothing could be farther from their thoughts than military occupation of Indian territory, or warlike undertakings of any kind against the natives. Sir Thomas Roe, mentioned in a former chapter as the ambassador of James I. to the Great Mogul in the year 1615, in a letter to the company, declared that war and trade were incompatible; that the emperor, in refusing the English a fort, did them service rather than injury; and that if his imperial majesty offered any number of fortified places, he would, in the interest of England, refuse them. This was the spirit maintained both by English merchants and English governments, until events in India, which had not their origin in British policy, were not promoted by British purpose, and could not be controlled by either the company or the English government, led to territorial conquest. The Spanish proverb, "Give me a seat, and I will make myself room to lie down," may be aptly applied to the energy and tenacity of the English, whether as traders, colonists, or conquerors, and their peculiar characteristics may account for the early commencement of a career of territorial acquisition, but they neither desired, intended, nor hoped for the like. Miss Martineau has pertinently asked, "How was it possible that our first lodgment in such an empire should appear otherwise than small and unpretending? The imputation is, no doubt, that there was craft under this humility; but there is very clear evidence that the charge is simply slanderous. The English wanted to buy and to sell, and they wanted nothing else." The remarks of the same distinguished authoress are equally pertinent when she says, "At sea there must be warfare; and the general success of the British in their sea-fights with European rivals advanced their reputation on land; but those conflicts were only heard of; and for a course of years the native impression of an Englishman was of an energetic personage, always buying and selling, loading and unloading ships, emptying and filling warehouses, paying his way and demanding his dues, becoming irritable when the Dutch and Portuguese and the Spice Islands were mentioned, and always victorious at sea over the Dutch and Portuguese, and in the question of spice. Such was the beginning of our connection with India. It was, as we see, purely commercial. A change took place in 1624, which excited no particular notice or marked expectation at the time, but which is now regarded as introducing a new period in our relations with India."

The commercial connection between the East and West has been fully set forth on earlier pages of this work. In the nineteenth chapter * the earliest commercial intercourse between the East and West was related; and in the twentieth † an account was given of the commercial intercourse between India and the Western nations from the invasion of Alexander the Great to the settlement of the British. At the close of that chapter it was observed that so mingled did the commercial and political become in the History of the East India Company, that it was necessary to trace their development together. In this and successive chapters the accomplishment of the task will be attempted. The great difficulty in tracing the early history of the English in India arises from the confusion of apparent cause and effect. The designs of the English trading company, and the results of their efforts, seldom corresponded. Their best concerted measures were baffled and defeated by agencies and instrumentalities trivial or unexpected. When they naturally expected profit from transactions from which large advantages might be reasonably inferred, there was loss; where they meditated peace they found war. The long-established power of the Portuguese melted away before the

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* See p. 360.

† See p. 371.

commercial fleets of the London merchants, and the sturdy and hardy Dutch were defeated alike in the competition of industry and arms; while the petty rajahs and their tributaries were able to offer effectual opposition, and the wisdom and negotiation of sensible and earnest men were set aside by the intrigues of a courtezan, a courtier, or a slave not adequately feed. Yet the most extraordinary fortunes opened up where least expected and desired, and from sources and by means altogether beyond the calculations of human foresight. The London Company seemed to struggle with some great destiny, of which it was unconscious, and for which it was not prepared. From whatever course the company selected for itself, it was turned aside into other paths, intricate as they were devious. With an object simple, and a pursuit of that object sincere, it was involved in complicated transactions of a totally different nature, from which a heroic daring and skilful address did not always suffice to extricate it; but these, when called forth by one difficulty, created others, to be encountered by new forms of daring and self-possession, which, however, issuing in renown or gain, led to results wholly different from those to accomplish which they were put forth. The progress of the English in India is one of the most entangled threads of history. Who can refrain from seeing a superintending Providence, overruling the aims of commerce and the policy of man, for purposes of magnitude and importance connected with his own glory and the moral government of the world? Transactions, great and small, the advent of a genius, or the discovery of some minute article of commerce, bore alike in their relations and upon the grand destination to which all events were constrained to hasten. They were instruments alike in his hands, who

> "Sees with equal eye, as God of all,
> A hero perish, or a sparrow fall."

Miss Martineau truly says, "Nothing could be more unlike what men designed and anticipated than the issues of the early schemes of the East India Company. The members themselves, their supporters and their opponents, were alike surprised at finding, from period to period, that they accomplished scarcely anything they designed, and that all manner of unlooked-for things came to pass —as if the whole affair was some mighty sport, in which grave and earnest men were made the agents of some transcendent levity, or were bewildered pupils in some new school which they had entered unawares. The merchants, who began the whole business, meant to trade, and obtain large profits, and, above all else, to avoid everything but trade. With the magnificent shows of life in India they had no concern whatever, beyond valuing, buying and selling, the commodities in use before their eyes. They knew nothing, and cared nothing, about politics—Mogul or Mahratta; and, as for war, it was only too fearful even to witness it. All they desired was to be let alone to make their fortunes, without any thought of law, government, negotiation, or war, except as far as any of these might affect their commerce—a handful of strangers as they were on a foreign coast. No men could be more sincere than these men were; and yet, in the course of the next century, a mocking destiny seemed to make teetotoms of them, their plans, and their fortunes. . . . . Their trade was never very successful; their balance-sheet pleased their enemies better than their friends. They exchanged commodities no doubt, and made profits; but their concerns were puny in comparison with their pretensions, and did not expand at all in proportion to their scope. While their direct object succeeded no better than this, they found themselves passing laws, ruling settlements, and making war and negotiating treaties, in alliance or opposition, with the princes of the country. They found themselves touching many points of Indian territory and Indian polity, and fastening wherever they touched, till the necessity was ripe which made them a great administrative and military power."

When the English gained mastery their progress was still a reluctant one in the direction of annexation. It was not by a desire to aggrandize territory that they gained it. The display or exercise of military power formed no part of their designs, the company denounced aggression, and an increase of territory by military force was regarded by its officers as the worst policy that could be pursued. A writer in the *Bombay Quarterly*, in 1858, justly represented the spirit of the English throughout the greater part of their career, when he thus wrote:—"Our ascendancy in India has been hitherto due to our moral rather than our physical superiority; to the higher qualities which enable us to utilize with the best effect slender resources, rather than to the amplitude of the resources themselves—still less of that portion of them actually derived from home. But from the time of Clive onwards, the foundations of our power were securely laid in the moral prestige which he established, and others amply sustained. The spell of a master-mind was laid in succession upon each of the enervated and half savage tribes with which we came into contact. And not only did they own subjection to British constancy, British valour, British faith, but they became the willing, for a time the enthusiastic, instruments for extending the British sway. At such a season as this it is encouraging and profitable to look back into the past; and while the world is ringing with the fame of present heroic achievements and endurance on the part of our countrymen, to trace the resemblance, the identity, between the qualities that have won *them* renown, and rescued India from a demoniac *Raj*, and those that of old, under Providence, conferred glory and honour on the British, *vixere forts ante Agamemona*. The Lawrences, the Neills, the Havelocks, have had their worthy, if, now at least, less conspicuous predecessors; the fruits of whose exertions we have long been enjoying, the memory of whose excellences we should not willingly let die."

It is in this spirit that the English reader must approach the history of his countrymen in India, if he will do justice to them, or comprehend the strange and mighty events which fill up that glorious and gorgeous story.

It has been explained in the chapter on the commercial intercourse between India and the Western nations after the conquest by Alexander the Great, that the English derived their oriental commodities by way of the Mediterranean. An intense desire for a sea-passage, by which their own ships could go direct to China, pervaded the commercial public, especially of London and Bristol, and various romantic stories were circulated of the riches of Cathay, and the possibility of discovering a way thither.

A trade in Indian commodities was, at a very early period, instigated by Sir William Monson, who witnessed the wreck of a Venetian carrac, laden with spices and other Indian commodities, on the Isle of Wight. The views of Sir William only contemplated the opening of a trade with the Levant in British ships, so as to rival the Venetians, instead of being obliged to deal with them as the merchants and carriers of Indian commodities. His appeals were successful, and the Turkey merchants, as they were called, imported Indian goods for the English markets.* In the latter half of the sixteenth century an English merchant named Thom took up his residence at Seville, and being an attentive observer, and an inquisitive person, he acquired a great deal of useful information about the Spanish and Portuguese Eastern commerce. He communicated this information to the ministers of Henry VIII., and convinced them of the advantages that would result from opening up a trade directly with the Indies. He suggested that a new passage might be discovered either by the north-east or north-west to the Indian Ocean, so as to avoid the tedious and dangerous passage round the Cape, by which the Spaniards and Portuguese carried their trade. The idea of Thom, that the Indian seas might be reached by way of a northern passage, was probably derived from the Dutch, who were at that period so extensively engaged in the carrying trade; for the mariners of that nation had prevened the English in the hardy enterprize, but of course without success. The first expedition, undertaken with the hope of reaching India by an arctic voyage, was fitted out by some independent merchants who combined for that purpose. The object was a north-east passage round the coast of Asia. The command was given to Sir Hugh Willoughby, and he set sail with three ships upon his perilous, and, as it proved, disastrous mission. Driven upon the bleak shores of Lapland, he and many of his crew perished by famine and cold. Richard Chancellor, in command of one of the vessels, reached the White Sea, and, disembarking, travelled to Moscow, and opened up communications with the court of the czar. This resulted in various schemes for an overland route through his dominions, and those of the Shah of Persia. Several British agents crossed the Caspian Sea, and travelled to Bokhara, then the chief city of Independent Tartary. Efforts to establish any profitable intercourse with India through the territories of Russia and Persia were soon discontinued, the route having been found too expensive, as well as unhealthy and dangerous. When the hope of gaining access to India by a north-east voyage or an overland route *via* Russia and Persia grew faint, the adventurous spirit of the age sought to achieve the object by a north-west voyage round the Cape land, in which it was believed the continent of America terminated to the north. This result has often been attempted since, but all adventurers, from the days of Cabot, Frobisher, Davis, and Hudson, to the recent accomplishment of what has been called a north-west passage, proved the impracticability of ever finding a way to India by that course. When the idea was presented to the English public it produced a great sensation in London, both in the court and in the counting-house, and some London merchants combined to reap the golden harvests which such a discovery, it was supposed, was sure to produce. They fitted out two ships, and placed them under the command of a Captain Frobisher. This courageous man attempted the perilous exploit; undauntedly he again and again renewed his efforts, and failed to accomplish what so many skilful navigators, with more resources at command, have since in vain essayed, although for a time such enterprises were discouraged by the opinion of Sir Francis Drake, who, when he returned from his voyage round the world, declared the passage by either north-east or north-west impossible.* The English were at last constrained to direct their attention to the route by the Cape of Good Hope, as the only one by which any certainty of communication might be obtained. Philip II. was at that time King of Portugal, and claimed what was called "the right of discovery." The Portuguese having found out that by sailing round the Cape of Good Hope they could reach the Eastern seas, argued that, therefore, the ships of no other nation was entitled to take the same direction. For a considerable time this argument had weight with the English themselves, and the British court was very unwilling to offend the court of Spain and Portugal, by allowing any proceeding that appeared to be against the wishes and interests of the latter. Besides, there was a general admission in Europe, vague and undefined but still real, that this "right of discovery," was a thing to be recognised and allowed. Along with these considerations there were others to deter the English court and people from entering into a direct rivalry with the Portuguese in what was regarded as their own high road upon the waters. Philip was at once the proudest, most bigoted, and most powerful monarch of the times, and it was a matter of most serious consideration to the statesmen of England how far it was politic to offend him. The English nation was too brave and high-spirited to shrink from a war with him if occasion imperatively called for it, but it was very unwilling to provoke one; and the court, and the statesmen which surrounded the British throne, were still more reluctant to bring on a quarrel with so powerful a prince. British vessels, unless under convoy or heavily armed, would be exposed to great peril, as they must pass near the European and Asiatic ports of his Iberian majesty, whose fleets were numerous and well equipped, and whose armed merchant ships were formidable, and prepared to attack any rivals of their commerce. Such was the energy and enterprize of the British that none of these considerations prevailed, and the nation gradually resolved to assert the right to travel the high road of nations on sea, whithersoever traffic might require, in spite of the combined forces of the nations of the Iberian peninsula. Both the Portuguese and the Dutch have received the credit of having anticipated the English in their oriental enterprise. They certainly antedated them in the acquisition of oriental empire, but the Portuguese alone preceded the British in purely trading transactions, unless the overland intercourse of the Russians with China may give them a similar claim. Both Portuguese and Dutch entered upon their Eastern designs with consecutive and persistent efforts from the first, while the proceedings of the English were for a long time desultory; although, when at last the East India Company was formed, their brilliant career went on with accelerated motion until all competitors were driven from the great theatre of exploit and profit. *So early were the English in their first designs that five months before Vasco da Gama* left Lisbon for India, several vessels were sent out by the Bristol merchants for the same destination. Henry VII. added two ships to the squadron, and the whole were placed under the guidance of the celebrated Venetian, Giovanni Gavatta, better known as John Cabot. When Cabot reached 67° 30′ north latitude, he was compelled by mutiny on board his ships to turn in a southerly direction; and ultimately he touched Newfoundland and the American continent.

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* See chap. xx. p. 376.

Captain Francis Drake had the honour of opening up British commerce in the East, and of defying the haughty exclusiveness of the courtiers of the Spanish peninsula. Drake had won for himself a great name by his services in America and the West Indies, and he ardently took up the purpose of penetrating into the South Sea. In 1577 he fitted out an expedition at his own expense. The ships were five in number, the largest not exceeding one hundred tons, the smallest was of as low a burthen as twelve tons. No nation has had the art and courage to employ such small vessels on great enterprizes as the British; and while the French and Spaniards have surpassed the English in the architecture of large ships, and the Italians have excelled them in beauty of construction, none have equalled the English in building ships of small tonnage so well adapted to arduous and difficult undertakings in peace or war.

Drake fitted up his ships with the greatest care, and took on board very remarkable cargoes of rich furniture, and the best specimens of English manufacture. He also employed a band of musicians. His object was to startle and delight the natives of the countries he hoped to visit, by a display of novel and dazzling objects, so as to leave a deep impression in their minds of the riches, ingenuity, diversified resources, genius, and glory of England. He sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of December, 1577, and in August the following year he accomplished a passage through the Straits of Magellan. He then cruised for some months along the western coast of Spanish America, not hesitating to appropriate some rich prizes that presented themselves in the course of his voyage. Having obtained great wealth, though his fleet was reduced to a single vessel, he determined to attempt a return homeward by the north-west passage. He sailed to the coast of California, of which he claimed the discovery, and called it New Albion; but finding his main object impracticable, he resolved to cross the Pacific, and proceed to Europe by the Moluccas. He steered directly through the ocean, pausing nowhere till he found himself among the Spice Islands, the valuable productions of which were then the subject of general interest in the West. The King of Ternate, who was in a state of hostility with the Portuguese, gave a friendly reception to the English navigator, who first began that commerce with India which has since been carried to so immense an extent. Having coasted along Java, he proceeded to the Cape without touching at any port of the Asiatic continent. He took in supplies at Sierra Leone, and arrived at Plymouth on the 26th of September, 1580, after a voyage of two years and ten months. His arrival was hailed with the utmost exultation by his countrymen, who regarded so successful a voyage as having raised to the highest the naval glory of the realm.*

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* "The discovery of the East Indies and Brazil by the Portuguese, and of the West-Indies, Mexico, Peru, and America by the Spaniards, all nearly at the close of the fifteenth, or at the commencement of the sixteenth century, conduced to the extension of European commerce; and the unsuccessful attempts of England, as well as of the Dutch and the Danes, to discover north-west and north-east passages to China, opened new and considerable sources of traffic, and led to the general increase of navigation."—AUBER.

The merchants of London hastened to do him honour, and the people at large treated him with the greatest respect and admiration. The court was silent, and the government of the day has been generally blamed by historians for their tardiness to reward the bold and successful mariner who had rendered his country such services. The political considerations which influenced the queen and her ministers were, however, reasonable and just. Captain Drake's ideas of *meum* and *tuum* were not of the sort which governments could ostensibly acknowledge. He was not particular to what nation the vessels belonged of which he made prizes, and Elizabeth, although one of the most likely persons in all her dominions to appreciate the captain's spirit and daring, without being too discriminative as to the nationality of his captures, yet could not forget that policy demanded some caution before she ostensibly rewarded such peculiar services. At length her majesty overcame all scruples, visited him on board his vessel in a manner characteristic of the queen, the age, and the commander, and conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, highly prized in those days.

The commodities brought home by Captain, then Sir Francis Drake, excited much curiosity and pleasure among both traders and citizens, and his account of his adventures charmed all hearts. While at Ternate he found the sovereign of that country at war with the ruler of Tidore, and the assistance rendered by the British captain to the former decided the fate of the war. For this succour the grateful monarch offered to supply the English with all the cloves exported from his country. Captain Drake laid in a valuable cargo, which was much prized in England, more especially when the circumstances under which it was obtained were understood. Thus Sir Francis Drake not only acquired the great reputation of being the first navigator who sailed round the world, and conferred upon his country the glory of that exploit, but he opened up a direct commercial connection between England and the East.

The success of this voyager confirmed the practicability of accomplishing a trade by direct sea communication, but the capital required, and the risk involved, appeared to be too great for any private merchant to incur. What had been achieved was by naval squadrons or expeditions of privateers, rather than by peaceful merchantmen transporting their "venture beyond seas;" and this circumstance discouraged English traders. Still the ingenuity of the mercantile and seafaring community was thoroughly stimulated, and various projects were discussed, and some actually set on foot. A number of merchants united to open up a commerce by way of the Persian Gulf. They proposed to land their agents on the Syrian coast, who were to proceed to the Persian Gulf by way of Aleppo and Bagdad, and sail down the Persian Gulf by Ormuz to the coast of Malabar. They were influenced in this determination by the representations of a Mr. Stevens. Dr. Cooke Taylor describes "Captain Stevens as having sailed from England to India by the Cape, which would convey the idea that he was engaged in a British commercial undertaking; but Mr. Stevens had gone out in a Portuguese ship to Goa, and attached himself to the

* Hugh Murray, F.R.S.E.

Jesuits there, as Miss Martineau affirms, or took service under the Archbishop of Goa, as other writers state. He had been a student of New College, Oxford, was a man of classical acquirements, and was mainly influenced by religious feelings in seeking the far-famed Jesuit establishment of Goa. From thence he wrote to England, giving a long account of the place, describing his voyage thither, and showing his interest in commerce, and in that of his countrymen more particularly. He afforded intelligence and aid afterwards to agents engaged in the promotion of the English oriental trade. The account given by Stevens tended very much to fan the flame of Eastern enterprise which had been so long kindling. Miss Martineau flings off in her rapid but interesting way her views of the man, his motives, his book, its effects, the first English travellers who were influenced by it, and the result, in the following brief passage:—"When Stevens, who had joined a party of Portuguese to reach Goa, saw what he could from thence, he probably formed a most just estimate of the great peninsula than we have hitherto done; but now, stern events are awakening the interest which has slumbered too long. What made Stevens go to Goa? One of the agents of the Russian trading company to India was a man of English birth, who had seven times gone down the Volga, and by the Caspian and Persia to Hindostan; what he saw of the wealth of India, and of the scope for commercial adventure there, became known to Stevens, who found enough that was wonderful and tempting to make a most stimulating narrative as soon as he got home. Everybody read his book, and the nation became extremely eager to obtain a commercial footing under the shadow of the Moguls. News from other wanderers began to come in. Of a party of four travellers who had gone to see what they could see, one, named Storey, remained as a monk among the Portuguese at Goa; another, Newberry, died on his way back; a third, Leedes, accepted service under the Emperor Akbar; and only the fourth, Fitch, came home. . . . . . . Queen Elizabeth might be proud of her correspondents if she chanced to write to Henri Quatre and to Akbar on the same day. Leedes and his comrades carried a letter from her to the emperor at Delhi: and it is probable that Akbar was as eager to hear from his English follower all details of our queen's good government, as the English certainly were to learn from Stevens and Fitch whatever they could tell on their return of the empire and rule of Akbar, the great Mogul." The letter of Queen Elizabeth was not entrusted to Leedes, as the above extract alleges. She wrote two letters, one to the Mogul, and the other to the King of China, and they were entrusted to the two principal men of the party of four, who were commissioned to make trial of the way by the Persian Gulf—Newberry and Fitch. That to the Mogul, or Emperor Akbar, was oddly addressed, as "To Zelabdim Echebar, King of Cambaya." It solicited his kindness towards her subjects, and expressed a promise of reciprocating such kindness to any of his majesty's people who came within the queen's dominion—a very unlikely eventuality.

Thus accredited, the travellers left England early in 1583, followed by the good wishes of the nation. Newberry wrote from Aleppo and Bagdad as much about business as the most practical merchant could desire. At Bagdad he could sell with difficulty, and not with advantage even then; but had he been furnished with money for the purpose, he assured his principals that spices could be obtained in abundance at prices that would prove remunerative. From Bagdad he proceeded to Bussora, without reaping any peculiar advantage. Thence he went to Ormuz, and found it practicable to conduct business transactions advantageously. This favourable state of matters continued only a week, when a rival in trade—an Italian, named Michael Stropene—brought an imputation against both Newberry and Fitch, who were consigned to prison. Newberry, writing from his prison, says, "It may be that they will cut our throats, or keep us long in prison. God's will be done!" They were not detained long, but were sent to Goa, where they were still held in custody. There the charges were brought out openly and formally against them. Nothing personal was imputed, except in reference to their trading; but they were held responsible for certain acts alleged against Captain Drake, especially his having fired some shots at a Portuguese galleon near Malacca. No doubt Drake had fired a great many shots at all sorts of galleons there and wherever he met them. Newberry disclaimed all knowledge of the transaction, and doubted its occurrence, and forcibly remonstrated against the hostile feeling shown to his country in his person, while men of every Asiatic nation and of all other European nations were allowed to trade there. Stevens, in his book, had dwelt in terms most laudatory upon the liberality of the Portuguese. This threw the English off their guard as to the intense religious animosity which prevailed in the Portuguese and Spanish nations towards them. Stevens, however, befriended Newberry in his perils and difficulties, as did also a Dutch captain, John Linschoten. The English traders were, after a short incarceration at Goa, liberated, on giving heavy pecuniary security that they would not leave Goa without permission. They were still badly treated, their merchandize purloined, and large presents extorted by the officials. Stevens, from his connexion with the Jesuits, being himself secure, could afford them some aid, but it was of short duration. The Englishmen found out that fresh accusations were concocting against them, and that the governor was himself eager to bring them into trouble. Accordingly, all hope of justice having vanished, they made their escape from Goa on the 5th of April, 1585. They found their way into the interior, passed through Belgaum, where, they relate, there was a great market for diamonds and jewels, and reached the royal city of Bejapore. At this place the narratives of Newberry terminate, and Ralph Fitch becomes the relator. Three things seem to have struck his imagination—the abundance of the precious metals, the war elephants, and the idols. Concerning the last-named, he queerly and quaintly said, "Some be like a cow, some like a monkey, some like peacocks, and some like the devil." Fitch proceeded to Golconda, and refers in his correspondence to the diamond mines. He then penetrated through the Deccan, and reached Agra, which he thought superior to London. The emperor was at Futtehpore, to which place our traveller proceeded, and describes the country *en route* to be as populous as a European city. He describes the social character of the people, and represents the Brahmins to be "a crafty people, worse than the Jews." Fitch was accompanied in his journeys by the rest of the party; for although Newberry and himself are chiefly made mention of, there were others of their company. It is a curious circumstance that Fitch in his narrative omits all mention of any interview or negotiation with the Emperor Akbar, but relates that when they departed from Agra, William Leedes (called erroneously by some writers Leader), who was a jeweller, remained in that capacity at the court of the Mogul, who allowed him a house, a horse, five slaves, and a regular pension. Fitch relates his subsequent journeyings to Prage (Prayaga), now called Allahabad, and his descent of the Ganges to Benares, the idolatry of which city filled him with wonder, and baffled his attempts to describe it. How far were these travellers from thinking of the possibility of the nation they represented being at any future period the masters of those vast and populous realms! Fitch went next to Patna, then to Tanda, in Bengal, and to Copche, in the neighbourhood of the Bhotan Mountains. He then traversed the banks of the Hoogly, returned again to the Ganges, penetrated to Tipperah, travelled back to the Ganges again, and visited Serampore, with which city he was much pleased. He took ship from Serampore to Pegu, and thence to Malacca. He returned to Bengal to ship himself for Cochin; but first went to Ceylon. So adventurous was this brave man, that he once more touched at Goa, and this time with impunity. Thence our adventurer went to Choule, where he found ship for Ormuz, which he visited, notwithstanding his former misadventure there. Thence he found means to return home, passing overland to Tripoli, where he embarked for England, and arrived in safety A.D. 1591. Seldom was travel more bravely sustained than by this Englishman; and the accounts he furnished on his return added another impulse to the ambition and enterprise of his countrymen. While Fitch and his companions were thus engaged in the overland undertaking, another expedition was attempting fresh successes by sea.

The triumphant voyage of Sir Francis Drake inspired Captain Cavendish with the desire to follow up his enterprise. Dr. Cooke Taylor represents him as a young gentleman of fortune, who, having wasted his substance by riotous living, resolved on an Eastern voyage to repair it. Other writers describe him as actuated by purely patriotic motives, and a love of adventure by sea, such as was then very prevalent in England. Mr. Murray describes him as selling an estate to embark in naval adventure; and that author gives at once the most succinct and probable account in these terms:—"Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of extensive property in Suffolk, after having served his naval apprenticeship under Sir Richard Grenville, determined to sell his estate, and embark the produce in a voyage to the South Sea and round the world. Having left Plymouth on the 21st of July, 1586, he reached, early next year, the western coast of South America, and, being restrained by no very nice scruples, made a number of valuable prizes. Stretching thence across the Pacific, he touched at Guahan, one of the group to which the Spaniards give the appellation of Ladrones. He passed afterwards through the Philippines, observing with surprise their extent and fertility, and holding communication with the natives, who expressed a decided preference of the English to the Spaniards, by whom these islands had been occupied. Sailing next through the Moluccas, and along the coasts of Floris and Sumbawa, he opened a friendly correspondence with some of the princes of Java, and, following the course of Drake, reached England in September, 1588, by the Cape of Good Hope."* Thus, although Newberry and Fitch and their comrades preceded Cavendish in their Eastern enterprise, and information from them arrived from time to time before Cavendish set out, and during his absence, he arrived in England, bringing with him the results of his successful voyage, several years before the return of Fitch. It is likely that the letters of Newberry from Aleppo, Damascus, Brasso, Ormuz, and Goa, as well as the narrative of Stevens, written in the last-named city, influenced Cavendish very much in undertaking the voyage he so bravely accomplished, but it was from Drake he derived the first spark of ambition with which he was animated to become a naval commander, perform on his own account a voyage round the world, and bring to his country, direct from the places of production, cargoes of the costly spices then so highly valued in England.

The merchants of London, Bristol, and other English cities, became gradually convinced before Fitch returned—through his letters, and more particularly through those of Newberry—that there was no hope of prosecuting a profitable Eastern trade but by direct voyages *viâ* the Cape, and that it should be an armed traffic, in the face of the malignant enmity of the Spaniards and Portuguese. The successful voyage of Cavendish, and the representations which he made, confirmed these convictions; and accordingly, the year after his return, and within less than twelve months of that event, a merchants' association was formed, for the purpose of oriental trade by way of the Cape, and a petition was presented to the government for permission to send three ships and three pinnaces to India. Queen Elizabeth was in all probability favourable to these measures; but the government, although then at war with Spain, was unwilling to shut out all prospects of peace by the irritation and injury which a commercial rivalry in the East would create in the minds of both Spaniards and Portuguese. Discouragements were therefore offered, and nothing immediately resulted from the petition. When Fitch returned the project was renewed. In 1591 three ships were sent out under Captains Raymond, Kendal, and Lancaster. This expedition has been confounded by several modern historians with another undertaken by Captain Lancaster, and especially called Lancaster's expedition, but which was not sent out until rather more than ten years afterwards. Lancaster was not the senior officer of the expedition in 1591, but Raymond, who was the admiral or commodore of the little squadron. Never perhaps was a naval expedition more successful or more unfortunate. In spite of every variety of obstacle, great success was obtained, and yet all that good fortune was at the last hour frustrated. The squadron sailed from Plymouth on the 10th of April. Sickness seems to have befallen the crews as soon as they left the British Channel. They reached the Cape of Good Hope in August, by which time the number of invalids had so increased, that Captain Kendal was ordered by Captain Raymond to take them home. Kendal himself appears to have been far from well, but, nevertheless, willing to prosecute the arduous enterprise in which his colleagues persevered. The remaining vessels, when off Cape Corientes, were smitten with a fearful hurricane. The ships were separated, and Captain Raymond's, named after its commander, was never again heard of. Lancaster, having cruised about for several days, in the hope of meeting with Raymond, encountered a still more formidable tempest than that which had separated them. The heavens were darkened—the sea rose to such a height, as to threaten the destruction of the vessel every moment—the lightnings flashed with appalling vividness—and the ship was damaged severely; and had she not been extremely well built, and commanded by a man of intrepidity and presence of mind, she must have been lost: as it was, four men were killed; several more were struck blind—some temporarily, and others permanently; several lay "stretched out as on a rack;" and no man escaped without bruises or wounds. The heroic Lancaster, undeterred by even this new disaster, set about repairing his vessel, and recruiting the strength of his crew. He proceeded to the Island of Comoro, where he took in a supply of water, then much required by his men. Here a new, and, if possible, more terrible disaster than the storm awaited him. The natives, who were at first friendly, or, at all events, not inimical, indicated some restlessness at their presence, but no disposition to do injury. Suddenly, when two unarmed parties of the crew, numbering sixteen each, were engaged on shore in some necessary work connected with the ship, the natives fell upon them, and massacred them nearly all, in view of the ship's captain, and when it was impossible for him to afford any succour. A few escaped by various stratagems, but wounded severely. Still this dauntless man did not despair. With the courage of an old Norse sea-king, he prepared for such exploits upon the wave as chance might afford him opportunity to perform. He next touched at

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* *History of British India.*

Zanzibar, and repaired his ship. Here he discovered, by private information, that the Portuguese, who were rude and surly, had formed a scheme to attack his boat. He opportunely departed, and was borne by unwelcome winds out of his course to the Island of Socotaro. Thence he departed with a favourable breeze for Cape Comorin. This he doubled in May, 1592, and, passing wide of the Nicobar Isles, proceeded to Sumatra, and thence to Penang, where he remained during the stormy season. Here he determined upon attacking all Spanish and Portuguese vessels which came in his way, where the slightest hope might be entertained that, even in a very unequal combat, victory was possible. He soon fell in with three vessels of from seventy to eighty tons burthen off the Malacca coast. The first struck upon the appearance of his boat, although she was "bravely armed." This was a ship and cargo belonging to the Jesuits of Goa, and Lancaster seems to have been much delighted on that account to make it a prize. Subsequently, by a series of daring attacks, he captured a number of large Portuguese ships laden with spices and other valuable mercantile commodities. In these encounters his own sailors were brave like himself, but so disorderly, as greatly to embarrass his proceedings. After striking terror in the Portuguese captains, sailing through the Straits of Malacca, he hastened to Ceylon, and cruised off Point de Galle, in order to intercept ships belonging to what the Portuguese and Spaniards called the Bengal and Pegu fleets. The sailors, however, enriched by the prizes they had made, were satisfied, and longed for home. They were insubordinate and resolute, so that Lancaster, much against his will, steered for the Cape of Good Hope, which he reached early in 1593. His projected voyage by the African coast was frustrated. He met with tempestuous weather at the Cape, and adverse winds after he had doubled it. Provisions became scarce, and he was obliged to make for Trinidad. He was driven into the Gulf of Paria, and thence made an irregular and confused voyage to the Bermudas. A storm once more wrecked his fortunes, and he was driven upon some desolate island. Having disembarked with most of his crew, the vessel was driven out to sea, and lost with all its precious freight. Lancaster and his hardy mariners must have perished had not a French vessel answered their signals of distress, and taken them on board. They were landed at Dieppe, after very kind treatment, on the 19th of May, 1594.

In 1596 an attempt was made by Sir Robert Dudley, which produced no important effect. Immediately after the return of Lancaster a Dutch expedition of four ships was fitted out; and in 1598 another, more especially directed to Japan, set sail from the coast of Holland. The departure of these fleets stimulated the competition of the English merchants, and exercised the crowning influence in the formation of the first East India Company. It so happened that the pilot of the last Dutch fleet was an Englishman, named William Adams. Mr. Pratt of the India-house drew up, from original documents, a narrative of his adventures for Mr. Auber, who, in 1834, published it in the appendix to his work on China.* From these documents it appears that Adams was a native of Jellingham, in Kent. He served the long apprenticeship of nearly twelve years—from the age of twelve to twenty-four—to a pilot at Limehouse. He then became master in one of the queen's ships. He left the service of her majesty for that of "the Barbary merchants," in which he remained for nearly twelve years. In the year 1598 he engaged himself as pilot-major to the Dutch fleet of five sail, which was sent out by the Dutch India Company—"Peter Vandershay and Hanneevancer-Veck." The "general and admiral" of the fleet was a merchant named Jaques Maihore. Adams was on board his ship.†

Although the project was to send out this squadron very early in the year, it was not until the 24th of June that it set sail. Being so late in the season, they found the passage of the line stormy. In the middle of September, the squadron being damaged and the crews sick, the admiral sought shelter at Cape Gonsalves, on the coast of Guinea. The sickness increased, and many of the mariners died. After various trials and vicissitudes of fortune, they assembled at their appointed rendezvous on the coast of Chili, in latitude 46°. Departing thence, still severer fortunes awaited them: hunger, sickness, unsuccessful conflicts with savages, storms, and various misadventures. The admiral's ship lost the general, the master, and all the officers were massacred on shore at the Island of St. Maria, on the coast of Chili, latitude 37° 12′ south. Other ships suffered in a similar manner. Two ships alone now remained together, that on board of which Adams served, and another. They were both weakly manned, and were in much fear of the Spanish cruisers. On the 27th of November, 1599, they left the Island of St. Maria, and stood for Japan. After passing the line they kept company until the 23rd of February, 1600, when the two ships were separated by a furious storm. "On the 19th of April, 1600, the ship in which Adams was made the coast of Japan in latitude 32½°." Only six sailors, along with the hardy English pilot, were "able to keep their feet." About a league from Bevingo the ship anchored. They were hospitably treated by the king, but a Portuguese Jesuit came from Nangasacki, and he, with some Japanese converts, under the plea of acting as interpreter, endeavoured to stir up the king for the destruction of his guests, but their efforts were unavailing, as the king of that part of the island was intelligent and humane. The authority of the king was only local, the emperor exacted obedience from all, and at his court the Portuguese Jesuits renewed their intrigues for the destruction of Adams and the Dutch: the result was, that the adventurers were brought before the emperor, interrogated, and imprisoned, but not treated with severity. All the efforts of the Jesuits to secure the execution of the strangers were as unavailing with the emperor as they had been with the prince. The emperor refused with horror to take away the lives of inoffensive persons who offered him no wrong, and whose object was to trade. By the instigation of these bigoted enemies, the Japanese robbed the crews, and Adams lost all his money, apparel, books, nautical and mathematical instruments, &c. This enraged the emperor, who compelled restitution, whenever the culprits could be found. After the ship, officers, and crew were detained two years, a mutiny broke out among the sailors, who demanded from the admiral the right to go wherever they pleased. They were all detained in Japan, but hospitably provided for by his imperial majesty. "In the course of four or five years the emperor called Adams before him, as he had divers times before done, and desired him to build a small ship. Adams replied that he was no carpenter, and had no knowledge thereof. 'Well! do your endeavours,' said he; 'if it be not good, it is no matter.' Adams accordingly built a ship of eighty tons, in all respects on the English plan, which gave the emperor great satisfaction, and raised Adams so high in his favour that his majesty would have him always come into his presence, giving him from time to time many marks of his grace and bounty. Besides which he assigned him a stipend equal to seventy ducats yearly, with a daily allowance of two pounds of rice. Adams recommended himself still further to the Japanese monarch by teaching him some points of geometry and elements of the mathematics, with other things that attracted his understanding. Hence the emperor acquired a habit of assenting to what Adams proposed; and his former enemies, wondering at his influence, entreated him to do them a friendship. Adams accordingly did good offices both to the Spaniards and Portuguese, recompensing good for evil. At the end of five years Adams supplicated the emperor for leave to depart from Japan, desiring to see his wife and children in England. With this request the emperor was not well pleased, refusing to let him go. In process of time, being in high favour at court, and hearing that the Hollanders had vessels at Siam and Patania, he renewed his prayer for permission to quit Japan, speaking directly to the emperor. His majesty at first gave no answer. Adams then told him, that to let him go for Europe would be a means of bringing the English and Dutch nations to traffic at Japan, of which his majesty was very desirous; but the emperor would not suffer him to go. Adams then asked leave for the Dutch captain to depart, which the emperor presently granted, and the captain sailed in a junk to Patania. No Hollanders coming thither in the space of a year he went from Patania to Jehore, and there found a fleet of nine sail under General Madlidf. The late provisional captain in Japan, to whom Adams had entrusted letters, was appointed master of this fleet, and was soon after slain at Malacca. Hence Adams is apprehensive that no news of himself has yet reached England; he therefore adjures the worshipful court to make his being alive in Japan known to his poor wife and two children. Adams had made a voyage or two in the ship which he built for the emperor; and, by his majesty's command, he had since built another, in which he made another voyage from Meaco to Eddo, being as far as from London to the Land's-end in England. At the date of Adam's letter, October, 1611, the emperor, in reward for his services, had given him a manor, with eighty or ninety husbandmen as his slaves or servants. In 1609 the emperor of Japan lent the larger ship which Adams built and eighty of his men to the governor of Manilla to sail to Acapulco."

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* *China: an Outline of its Government, Laws, and Policy; and of the British and Foreign Embassies to, and Intercourse with, that Empire.* By Peter Auber, Secretary to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

† *Narrative of a Voyage to Japan.* By William Adams, an Englishman, as pilot of a Dutch fleet in 1598. The narrative is partly given here rather than reserved for the chapter on the Dutch in the East, as an Englishman is the subject of the relation.

In a future chapter the influence of Adam's residence at Japan will be seen in the enterprises of the English there. The letters which he sent to Bantam and to Europe had much effect upon the trade, and the manner in which the company and its agents proceeded. In this chapter the narrative has been brought as far as the point when the existence of Adams in the Japanese empire became known to the English, for the Dutch, to whom he rendered the greatest service and obtained for them permission to settle in Japan, repaid him with ingratitude, concealing from the English his existence, and hiding from him the fact that the English had begun a systematic Eastern trade on a scheme of some magnitude. So well did the Dutch act in concert, and keep both secrets, that no suspicion existed in England that an Englishman lived in the Japanese capital, and had signal influence over the emperor, nor had Mr. Adams, during the many years of his detention, any knowledge of the proceedings of his countrymen in reference to the East.

The adventure of the English pilot occurred too near its close, to influence the proceedings of his countrymen within the sixteenth century. They were already intensely stimulated by curiosity; the spirit of commerce, hardihood of enterprise, rivalry with the Portuguese and Dutch, and the heroic attempts of their own captains and traders who had preceded the Dutch, to do something on a large scale to open up a regular commerce with the East.

In 1599 an association was formed, and nominal subscriptions to the amount of £30,133 obtained, for the fitting out of three ships for the Indian trade. There were a hundred and one shares in this subscription, but some of the holders never paid up, and others who did deplored their simplicity, declaring that they believed their money was lost in a fruitless and romantic undertaking. All this coldness and hesitation existed, notwithstanding the favour bestowed upon the project by one of the most popular sovereigns that had ever sat upon the English throne. Elizabeth gave every encouragement to the association, and sent out John Mildenhall as ambassador to the great Mogul to negotiate the privilege of trading within his territory. Before, however, the ambassador could effect anything, the will of a small but determined band of merchants had put forth the project, and the great enterprise was entered upon from which no losses, wars, dangers, difficulties, or sufferings were ever sufficient to make England recoil. It was nearly the close of the year when the association was formed, much eloquence was expended by those most active in framing it, and their arguments were taking and plausible. They pointed out the quality of the cargoes brought home by Drake and Cavendish, and of certain Portuguese prizes brought into English ports. It required all this diligence and persuasiveness to form the association, and even then it was destined to have but a short existence as then constituted, for it became necessary soon after to form a subordinate association, the existence of which of course modified the former. A charter was, however, obtained; the first charter of a British East India Company. It was on the last day of the sixteenth century that Queen Elizabeth signed it on behalf of about two hundred and twenty gentlemen and merchants, constituting them one body, "corporate and politique," by the name of "the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." The charter was granted for fifteen years, revocable at any time on two years' notice. Those persons upon whom this royal favour was bestowed were endowed with the exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies by sea, were permitted to use a common seal, and were empowered to make bye-laws, inflict punishment, both pecuniary and corporeal, and to export bullion and goods duty free the first four voyages. They were also invested with the exclusive right to trade in all countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

The new association which was formed in 1600 as subsidiary, became virtually the East India Company. George, Earl of Cumberland, was at its head, and there were many knights and squires enrolled among its members. As many members of the old, and some of the new association, did not pay up their subscription, or were not zealous enough in the matter to take a very active part, the whole management fell into a few active hands. The measures taken were to raise and expend £75,373; of which £38,771 was invested in shipping, £28,742 in bullion, and £6,860 in goods. The court was anxious to give the command of the first expedition to Sir Edward Mitchelbourne, but the merchants resolutely refused to accept him, for a reason which appeared as sound to themselves as it seemed audacious and presumptuous to the court. They declared that they had no mind to employ *gentlemen* who did not understand commercial affairs, but preferred "to sort their business with men of their own quality." The favourite of the merchants was the indomitable Lancaster. He who, in 1591, attempted so well and suffered so much, but whose losses and adversity augmented his popularity, as the way in which he bore his reverses exalted the fame of his fortitude and perseverance. The choice of the merchants was judicious, for Mitchelbourne afterwards proved himself more of a pirate than a trader or a warrior, and more bent upon enriching himself than promoting his own honour or that of his country. Thus, in the very beginning of the East India Company, it adopted the policy of "appointing the right man to the right place;" a policy in which it persevered more pertinaciously than any other commercial or political body that ever existed.

Thus ended the sixteenth century in reference to the relations of England with the far East.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE LONDON EAST INDIA COMPANY FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TO THE SETTLEMENT OF FACTORIES UNDER TREATIES OF COMMERCE IN INDIA AND THE EASTERN SEAS.

At the close of the sixteenth century, the English, as has been seen, were full of commercial enterprise, partly stimulated by the Portuguese and Dutch, in a greater measure by the boldness of the nation, and the love of trade which characterized it. In this state of mind the seventeenth century dawned upon them. The formation of the East India Company inspired the government and the people with the hope of great things, notwithstanding the fears of many and the despondency of others. When the first expedition was ready to depart, the eyes of the whole nation were turned towards it, and every heart desired its success. There were, it is true, a few who wished their own prophecies of disaster to be fulfilled, and some envious spirits, who were disappointed of official advantage in connection with the expedition, were of course among them.

It has been stated that the queen sent out one John Mildenhall, as ambassador to the great Mogul, but the new company did not wait for his return or for tidings of his success, but prosecuted their purpose until the little squadron of Captain Lancaster was sent forth. It was well that they adopted such a course, for the mission of Mildenhall was a failure. The court of Akbar was not one with which he was likely to succeed, however sure of a friendly reception from that eccentric, able, and liberal prince. Mildenhall died in Persia on his way home, and no satisfactory result, nor even a clear and connected account of his proceedings was ever known to the company.

The expedition of Captain Lancaster consisted of five ships, which, according to Sir William Monson, were the *Dragon*, 600 tons; the *Hector*, 300 tons; the *Ascension*, 260 tons; the *Susan*, 240 tons; and the *Guest*, 100 tons. They were freighted with bullion, and a comparatively small proportion of goods, such as iron and tin, wrought and unwrought lead, broadcloth of all colours, Devonshire kersies, Norwich stuffs, glass, quicksilver, Muscovy hides, &c. The queen gave the captain-general letters commending him to the princes and governors of the countries which he might visit. Thus furnished and equipped Lancaster set sail early in the first year of the seventeenth century.[*] Various accounts are given of the date of this expedition, which circumstance is explicable from the accident of some dating from the period when the company completed its cargo, some from Captain Lancaster's departure from London, and others from the departure of the squadron from Torbay.

Lancaster proceeded at once for Acheen, on the north-west coast of Sumatra,—5·36 north latitude, 95·28 east longitude,—which place he reached after a prosperous voyage; even the dreaded "Cape of Storms" proved propitious to him. He touched at Madagascar and the Nicobees, for the purpose of taking in fresh provisions and water, and arrived at his destination June 5, 1602. The objects of the expedition did not contemplate any trade with the great Asiatic continent; the design was to obtain certain productions which were known to be abundant in the islands of the Eastern Archipelago. Sumatra, Java, the Molucca and Banda Islands, were supposed to produce great abundance of spices, for which at that time there was an extraordinary demand in Europe. This demand subsequently died out when the objects of it became plentiful. The spices—to obtain which so sanguinary a rivalry was maintained by the trading nations, and which were consumed in such extraordinary quantities in Europe compared with the custom of modern times—were the commodities of which Lancaster was in quest, and he sought a port famous for their merchandize. On his arrival at Acheen, the captain delivered his credentials from her Britannic majesty, and he was consequently received with every mark of distinction which that court could confer. The king also gave permission to establish a factory, free trade, protection to the traders, power of bequeathing property by will, and, to some extent, permission to hold and cultivate land. The company began well in its diplomacy before its trade had time to realize any direct profit. Unfortunately the crop of pepper had failed in that neighbourhood the previous season, and Lancaster was unable to obtain a sufficient cargo. Under these circumstances he formed a sort of offensive convention with the Dutch against the Portuguese. This was the first meeting of the company's ships with those of Holland, and it was not only amicable but one of active alliance against a common foe. Scarcely was this treaty of the seas formed, than a magnificent Portuguese carrac of nine hundred tons became a prize. She was loaded with commodities from continental India, especially the finest fabrics of Calicut. The allies plundered her, divided the spoil equitably, and inflicted no violence upon the Portuguese, leaving to them the possession of their empty ship. Lancaster proceeded to Bantam, in Java, where he laid in a full cargo of spices, and, after selling a portion of his goods, left the remainder with agents to be sold after his departure.

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[*] Miss Martineau says in February, 1601; Mr. Capper makes the same statement; Mr. H. Murray says on the 2nd April, 1601; Mr. Martin, on April 22, 1601.

As at Sumatra, he delivered the letters of his queen, was well received by the chief, permitted to trade, and treated with hospitality. He left Bantam much encouraged, prosecuting his voyage homewards with assiduity. He, however, sent a pinnace to the Moluccas to provide a cargo of spices for future trade, so as to be exempt from the delays which attended him on this occasion. The commercial treaty which he concluded with the chief of Bantam, although not so favourable as that which he formed at Acheen, was very advantageous, and he and his crew arrived in England full of expectation as to the triumphant reception he should meet. He was not disappointed, for his arrival created an extraordinary sensation, not only among the members of the company, but among the merchants generally. The proceedings of Captain Lancaster were not, however, of a strictly commercial character, but those which were more of a political nature, gave as much satisfaction as his cargoes of rich spices. He made treaties commercial and naval, made maritime war on account of the company, and on his way home took possession of the Island of St. Helena. His attack upon the Portuguese, in concert with the Dutch, was in keeping with the spirit of the age, and the state of the nation. Every English mariner and citizen, from the time of the Armada, had taken upon himself, as far as in him lay, to avenge that outrage, and the coasts of the Spanish peninsula as well as of the Azores, were ravaged by the expeditions of Drake, the Earl of Cumberland, and other hardy adventurers. The queen and the general public expected that the company would have fitted out a second expedition before the arrival of Lancaster, but they were too timid, and notwithstanding that Elizabeth urged more enterprise, they awaited the results of Lancaster's trial.

When Lancaster arrived he found the city of London in great gloom, much in need of any good tidings to cheer them, which he or others might bring. London had been stricken by the plague, so that many had fled to the country, and those remaining were daily, in considerable numbers, falling victims to the pestilence. These calamities did not prevent demonstrations of rejoicing at the arrival of the successful mariner. A very short time after Lancaster's arrival the queen died. This event took place scarcely two months after the company's squadron delivered its valuable cargo. Probably in no country could the death of a sovereign have been viewed as a greater affliction. The nation loved her for her greatness as a queen, and, whatever might be her faults as a woman, they loved her as a heroine and a patriot. She was proud of her countrymen, and they were proud of their queen. The death of her majesty, and the prevailing sickness, cast a damp over the enterprise of the merchants; but the public spirit rose eventually over every disaster and difficulty, and the active temper of the people asserted itself alike in peace and war, in discovery and commerce. The prince who ascended the English throne was not regarded as a likely person to encourage commerce, nor supposed to possess that love of country which had characterized his predecessor; still he was by many considered learned, although too much of a pedant, and it was believed by them that he would comprehend the crisis to which British commerce had arrived, and be able to adopt sagacious methods of placing England on a footing of hopeful competition with the Spaniards and Portuguese. The Dutch, it was believed by most, would rather side with England in her oriental undertakings, but this illusion was very soon dispelled. Only one year was allowed to elapse before the company was prepared for a fresh undertaking. Elizabeth, before the return of Lancaster, taunted the company with breach of charter for not sending out an expedition twelve months after Lancaster had set sail, and before the company could have been apprised of the result of his voyage. James repeated the taunts of Elizabeth; the monarchs were anxious for glory, which could be only obtained through the great risk of their subjects. The desires of the court were unreasonable, especially when James ascended the throne, for among his earliest acts were some which were violations of the company's charter. Very soon after the return of Lancaster, he granted a licence to Sir Edward Mitchelbourne to trade with China and the East Indies. This was the Sir Edward Mitchelbourne that the company refused to accept from Elizabeth as commander of the fleet which afterwards sailed under Lancaster. James not only broke faith with the company in his case, but gave licences to several adventurers to trade on their own account in the East. This was not done by the monarch from antipathy to monopolies, for he professed afterwards to consider that the perils which beset the Eastern trade was so great, and its transactions of such magnitude, that no private trader could engage in it, and that it was only likely to be of service to the nation by being carried on through the medium of a joint-stock undertaking by a chartered company. Sir Edward went out with a ship called the *Tiger*, and a pinnace called the *Tiger's Whelp*, and made havoc of Chinese junks and lorchas cruising among the islands of the Eastern archipelago. He returned with some gain and no glory. The company in vain remonstrated with the king, whose answers were not straightforward, and whose actions, in the company's opinion, were not just.

In 1604 an expedition of four ships, freighted with goods similar in kind and quality to those which had been sent out in 1601, was entrusted to Captain Middleton, afterwards so well and so favourably known as Sir Henry Middleton. This expedition sailed from Gravesend on the 25th of March. Captain Middleton had a prosperous voyage, and at the end of the same year arrived at Bantam. It suited Middleton's object to divide his squadron; two tarried at Bantam to load with pepper, one was sent to Banda, and the commander himself proceeded to the Moluccas. On his arrival he found a fierce war raging; the Dutch and the King of Ternate, being in conflict with the Portuguese allied with the King of Tidore. Here first the English experienced that opposition and enmity with which afterwards the Dutch assailed them in the Eastern seas. The hostile feeling which now sprung up between the English and the Dutch led to many fierce encounters, and various discreditable stratagems of war in the East. The English intrigued with the native princes against the Dutch settlements in Java, and with such success that the annihilation of Dutch power in that quarter was all but effected. The conduct of Captain Middleton gave no occasion for the bad feeling displayed towards him, which seems to have originated in that greed of gold which so strongly marked the character of the Dutch in the seventeenth century. They were successful in persuading the King of Ternate that the English were pirates, and the conduct of Sir Edward Mitchelbourne, about the same time in these seas, justified the appellation, and other English adventurers unfortunately supported the bad reputation. Middleton was entirely shut out from commerce at Ternate, by the representations and threats which the Dutch made to the king. Before he left the neighbourhood, however, the king sent him a secret letter invoking the aid of the King of England against the tyranny of the Dutch.

The conduct of the Portuguese at Tidore was, as might have been expected, equally, if not more hostile, so that the English captain did not find it possible to transact any business whatever. Indeed, the Portuguese became from that time much exasperated against the English, and the exasperation broke out into open violence. Soon after, four English vessels were attacked in the harbour of Surat by a superior force of Portuguese, but the English fought so well that they triumphed over their enemies, inflicting upon them the most serious injury.[*] For this attack the English exacted ample vengeance subsequently, for in the year 1617, their ships encountered a Portuguese squadron near the Cape, and compelled the commander to pay an indemnity.[†]

Captain Colthurst was more fortunate at Banda than his superior, Captain Middleton, was at Ternate and Tidore. Finally, the squadron was laden with spices, and returned to England.

Another expedition of three ships, under the commands of Captains Keeling, Hawkins, and David Middleton, was sent out in 1607. David Middleton sailed on the 12th of March, "direct to the Spice Islands;" his colleagues sailed in April, and proceeded at once for the same destination, but never succeeded in forming a junction with Middleton. This expedition does not seem to have met with any note-worthy occurrence at "the Spice Islands," but found the Dutch and Portuguese as much opposed to the English as they were to one another, and the efforts of all the British captains to form a profitable trade with the Spice Islands failed from these oppositions. The British factory at Bantam was found most useful, and by its means chiefly spice cargoes were obtained by the ships which went out. Captain Hawkins proceeded in the *Hector* to Surat, and having letters from King James to the Mogul, he proceeded with them to Agra. The result of his mission must be reserved for another page, while we return to the narrative of Adams, begun in the chapter on the advent of the English in the East.

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[*] See chapter on the Dutch in India.

[†] Ibid.

Adams, the reader will recollect, accompanied the last expedition of the Dutch in the sixteenth century as pilot-major, was detained in Japan, was the means of procuring for the Dutch liberty to trade, and ultimately was the means of the English settling in Firando, which was made by them a *point d'appui* in their commercial enterprises with China. In a previous chapter the narrative of Adams was brought to the year 1609; he was still detained by the emperor, and still anxious to return home, and that not being permitted, to serve his countrymen as best he could in their Eastern commerce. The perfidious and ungrateful conduct of the Dutch in concealing from Adams the Eastern settlements of his countrymen, and concealing from the British nation that an Englishman was detained in Japan, was referred to in the previous chapter where the adventures of Adams were related. He eventually became aware of the existence of the English factory planted by Lancaster at Bantam, in Java, and corresponded with the English East India Company through its agent there. In 1609, according to a letter which Adams contrived subsequently to send home, two Dutch ships arrived to trade; in 1611 a small Dutch ship traded at Firando. In 1612 he wrote to the following effect to the British agent then settled at Bantam:—"The Hollanders are now *settled* in Japan, and I have got them that privilege, which the Spaniards never could obtain during the fifty or sixty years since they first visited Japan." In the remainder of this remarkable letter, Adams advises the English agent at Bantam to chose a seat for a factory in Japan, and points out the proper neighbourhood. In another part of the letter Adams wrote:—"And comes there a ship here, I hope the worshipful company shall find me to be a servant of their servants, in such a manner as that they shall be satisfied with my services. If any ship come near the easternmost part of Japan, let them inquire for me. I am called in the Japan tongue Augin Samma; by that name am I known all the sea-coast along. Nor fear to come near the mainland, for you shall have barks with pilots to carry you where you will." He then thanks Spalding (of the Bantam factory) for the present of a Bible and three other books; and desires Spalding to offer his humble salutations to Sir Thomas Smyth (the chairman of the company), and thank him for lending his wife twenty pounds. This, his first letter addressed to the English factory at Bantam, thus concludes:—"Had I known that our English ships had trade in the Indies, I had long ago troubled you with writing, but the Hollanders kept it most secret from me 'till the year 1611, which was the first news I had of the trading of our ships in the Indies."

When, in 1613, Captain Saris arrived with Mr. Cock at Firando, as agent of the English, Adams rendered great service in enabling them to establish a factory. Captain Saris reached Firando on the 12th of June, and Adams immediately hastened from the eastern part of the island to meet him, which he effected on the 29th of July, and after a conference they agreed to go up to the emperor with King James's letter. They left Firando on the 7th of August, and began their "journey up to court, having the privilege of post horses to any number they had need of." The emperor having entered the hall of audience, and the general coming before him, the secretary took the king's letter from his hands and delivered it to the emperor, who, receiving it into his own hand, with all kindness bade the general welcome. The general having finished delivering his presents, returned to his lodgings. The emperor then called Mr. Adams, who read and interpreted the King of England's letter. The emperor having understood it, bade Mr. Adams to tell the general to state to the secretary, or to Mr. Adams, what he desired, and it should be granted or answer thereto. General Saris was sent for to receive this intimation, and then retired. After his departure the emperor "reasoned with Mr. Adams of many things." Adams having been thus consulted by the emperor, took his leave, and rejoined the general at his lodging.* After this, it appears that the emperor suggested to Adams the propriety of the English establishing a factory at "Yedso," the southern part of the Island of Jesso. Orders were given to his council to promote the arrangements for the thorough establishment of the contemplated English factory at Firando; and either as originating with himself from his favour to the Englishmen, or suggested by Adams, orders were also issued to promote the settlement of the English in various other parts of Japan. It appears also that the home-sick Briton made the very placable mood in which the emperor was at that juncture, the occasion of presenting a petition for his own liberty, which was successful. Yet from what can be gathered from the documents at the India-house, Adams overcame his desire to return home, and remained, of his own accord, in the service of the emperor to his death. According to the Dutch accounts, the emperor revoked his grant of freedom and detained his favourite, continuing to treat him with every possible kindness until death severed the bond.

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* *Narrative of a Voyage to Japan.* By W. Adams, an Englishman, collected from documents at the India-house by Mr. Pratt.

Notwithstanding the influence of Adams at court, the English had some difficulties at the very outset. These arose chiefly from the prejudice excited by the Spaniards, whom the Japanese detested for their treachery and cruelty. Among the papers found by Mr. Pratt occur the following:—"At this date it was reported that all the Spanish padries were to quit Japan, as it should seem the name of a Christian had become odious: for on the 6th of March, 1613–14, being Sunday, the factory at Firando had put out the company's flag, as their custom was; but in the afternoon Foyné Samma sent agent Cock word to take it in, because it had a cross on it. The agent did not comply on the instant; but after two messages Mr. Cock went to Foyné Samma himself, and excused the matter as well as he could, telling him that this cross was not made in the form of the cross of Christ, but was rather used for a badge or token, whereby the English nation was known from all others, as the Dutch were by their colours of orange, white, and blue. Yet all would not serve, but down it must come; Foyné telling the agent it was the emperor's will that it be discontinued, only the factory might put out any other mark they would, a cross excepted; and that their ships might bear a cross upon the water, but not the factory house on land." The emperor's objection was founded upon the idea that it was the symbol of force, for it was known in all the Eastern seas that the Spaniards and Portuguese, wherever they had power, compelled all persons, whatever their religion and however against their conscience and will, to pay acts of reverence to that symbol.

Notwithstanding the auspicious circumstances under which connection with Japan was thus opened, the factory did not continue a prosperous career. While Adams lived all went well but after his death the removal of the agency was soon determined. While he lived various enterprises were attempted from Firando. The following papers briefly sketch these, and the withdrawal of the company's servants.

"In December, 1613, agent Cock, accompanied by Messrs. Adams and Sayer, went from Firando to Nangasaque, intending to purchase a junk to be sent on a voyage to Siam. But finding all the vessels there engaged for other destinations, they hired freight on a junk for a cargo to Cochin China. Nangasaque* seems to have been a port to which Firando occasionally consigned goods, and sent factors, as more convenient to embark at than Firando, when the destination of the ship or junk was to places in Japan or neighbouring countries, lying so as to require a passage between the Japanese islands to the north and east. Vessels seem also to have been sometimes consigned thither from Firando to take in part of their lading: for example, some articles of native produce, manufacture, or import more easily procurable at Nangasaque. The emperor's factor also resided there, being no less a personage than the governor of the place. In August of this year the company's factors in Japan commenced a negotiation for opening a trade into China, in which they employed as agents two Chinese merchants usually resident in Japan, but trading periodically to their own country and visiting the interior. The one was chief of the Chinese at Firando, as the other was of their countrymen at Nangasaque. In this attempt the factory expended large sums of the company's money in presents to persons in power at the Chinese court, and in cash supplied to the intermediate envoys. This negotiation was continued until the party was withdrawn from Firando in 1623, at which time it had not succeeded: and the prospect of success 'which various adverse interests obscured, was becoming evanescent.' An attempt had likewise been made in 1615 to open a trade with the islands of Loochoo. It is recorded on the consultations of the English factory of Firando in December, 1623, that it was considered ineligible to leave any person of the factory there behind, as the president's order empowered them to do. In lieu thereof it was resolved to leave a power with Captain Cornelius Newrode, chief of the Dutch factory, to recover the outstanding debts due to the English company. And with respect to the company's houses and godowns, the council agreed to deliver them, as Batavia had ordered, into the King of Firando's custody, to be preserved for the company, and in case the factory return, restored: and for greater security a writing to that effect was to be taken from him or one of his *bonjews* (secretary). The company's agent at Firando wrote the court, under date 13th and 14th December, 1620:—'Our good friend Captain William Adams, who was so long before us in Japan, departed out of this world the 16th of May last, and made Mr. William Eaton and myself his overseers: giving the one half of his estate to his wife and child in England, and the other half to a son and daughter he hath in Japan. I cannot but be sorrowful for the loss of such a man as Captain William Adams was: he having been in such favour with two emperors of Japan as never was any Christian in these parts of the world, and might freely have entered and had speech with the emperors when many Japan kings stood without and could not be permitted. This emperor hath confirmed the lordship to his son, which the other emperor gave to the father.'

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* Generally written *Nangasaki.*

"The following notice is also entered upon the agent's journal, viz. '1620–21, February 20th, a child of the late Captain William Adams was brought by its mother to agent Cock, who presented it with a *tais*, offering at the same time to pay for its support and education, provided the mother would give it up to the protection of the English nation.' Various attempts were made to resume the trade with Japan until 1672, when the project was finally abandoned."

The history of the factory at Firando and of the early efforts to form a commerce with Japan, are so intimately connected with the establishment of the factory at Bantam, as to make it appropriate that the narrative should be given in connection with the establishment of the latter.

Hawkins and Keeling speedily accomplished whatever business they were charged with in the Eastern seas. The former separated from his colleague at Socotra, and arrived at Surat 1608. He put himself in immediate communication with the governor, who refused to allow him to land any cargo until the viceroy, who resided at Cambay, was apprised of his coming. An answer arrived after twenty days; it was favourable as to the disposal of the present cargo, but no factory could be established, or permanent trade otherwise carried on without the express permission of the emperor, which, the viceroy suggested, that Captain Hawkins would do well to apply for in person. Hawkins landed his goods, which began rapidly to be disposed of, when a fierce opposition was made by native merchants instigated by a Portuguese Jesuit. The Portuguese seized two of Hawkins' boats, and refused reparation for the injury, sneering at King James as a monarch of a poor little island of fishermen. Hawkins was further informed that the Eastern seas belonged to the King of Portugal, and "none were entitled to trade in them without his licence." The English captain challenged the chief of the Portuguese factory to single combat, which was declined. The captured boats, with their crews and cargoes, were meantime sent to Goa. The native authorities were evidently in league with the Portuguese, not that they loved them, but, believing them to be invincible, thought it politic to be on their side. Various attempts were made to break into the house of the English captain, and he was in constant peril of assassination. The viceroy at length arrived, but took no notice of the Englishman's complaints, and helped himself to the best articles of the ships' cargo at whatever price he thought proper to pay, which was always inadequate, and never directly or completely paid. Hawkins at last resolved to travel to Agra, and, if possible, state his grievances and those of his countrymen before the emperor. The viceroy furnished an insufficient escort, with the intention, it was reported, of having it intercepted on the road. Hawkins hired soldiers himself, and afterwards, on application to the viceroy of the Deccan, was furnished with a competent escort of Affghan horse. His coachman had been hired to assassinate him, as in a drunken fit he confessed during the journey. The interpreter was as deep in this conspiracy as the coachman. The former was arrested, and Hawkins proceeded on his journey to the residence of the Deccan viceroy, who received him hospitably, and sent him on to Agra under a faithful guard; at which place he arrived on the 16th of April, 1609. The picture which the treatment of this Englishman at Surat, and on the journey (except so far as the good offices of the viceroy of the Deccan were concerned), presented of the manners and government of India during the palmy days of the Mohammedan period, ought to silence such Englishmen as of late years have delighted to draw comparisons between the Mohammedan and British dominions, to the disadvantage of the latter.

Jehanghire, son of Akbar, then reigned in the metropolis of India, and he at once sent for the Englishman upon his arrival, who presented the emperor with the letter of his own sovereign. Jehanghire viewed it and the seal with great attention and interest. He then commanded a Jesuit, who understood many languages, to read it, who, upon perusal, assured his majesty that it was basely penned. While the Jesuit was silently scanning the letter, Hawkins continued to address the emperor in Turkish, which his majesty well understood, and a conversation ensued which afforded pleasure to the sovereign, and caused him to take no notice of the unfavourable report made by the Jesuit, of King James's letter. Hawkins had for some time afterwards daily interviews with the emperor, who declared that the English had been scandalously used at Surat, more especially by the viceroy; but his majesty, nevertheless, issued no orders for redress. After many further conversations with the captain, chiefly as to the geographical situation, resources, and government of various countries, his majesty sent positive orders to the viceroy "to supply the English with everything necessary for their trade." He invited Hawkins to remain in India as a commander of cavalry! and governor of a district, with an income of £3000 a year, until he should himself send an embassy to the English monarch. Hawkins, both in his own interest and that of his employers, consented. He was further pressed to marry in the country, which he in vain protested did not suit his inclination; and that he could not conscientiously marry any one but a Christian. The emperor found an Armenian damsel, thus silencing the Englishman's objection. The marriage took place, the officer became extremely attached to his bride, and honourably adhered to his vows, although assured in England that it was not a legal marriage. The captain's enemy, the viceroy of Surat, was summoned to the emperor's presence, in consequence of the various complaints brought against him by aggrieved persons. The emperor ordered the confiscation of his property. When his effects came into review, Captain Hawkins pointed out to the emperor various valuable articles brought by him from England as presents to his majesty, which the viceroy had appropriated to himself.

Tidings having reached the English captain that another ship, the *Ascension*, was coming out to Surat, he solicited from the emperor liberty of commerce for his countrymen, and obtained an imperial edict, "under the great seal with golden letters," giving authority to the English to trade.

After this the high favour in which the British officer stood began sensibly to diminish. Mocrib, the unprincipled viceroy, having been stripped of his property, was pardoned and restored to his government, with stern exhortations to conduct himself in future as became a good governor and a faithful liege of the emperor. The first act of this vindictive tyrant was to put into requisition all the influence of his restored office to avenge himself upon Hawkins and the English in general. His intrigues were somewhat cleverly seconded by the Jesuits. It was represented to the emperor that the Portuguese were a far more powerful people than the British, and that they would retire in disgust if such traders were allowed the same privileges as they had. The Portuguese at the same moment presented the emperor with a balass ruby of uncommon size and beauty. The wayward Jehanghire, than whom no child was more easily bought by a gift, exclaimed, "Let the English come no more." Mocrib was not slow to execute this order, and he departed to his government, resolved that the English should transact no business at Surat. Hawkins wisely offered no opposition, but when the fury of the tempest had passed away, he presented himself before the emperor, and besought him to accept what Hawkins himself afterwards called "a splendid toy;" urging at this opportune moment every argument he could devise to prove that the British trade would be of supreme advantage to the empire. The gift and the persuasion led his majesty to reverse his late decree, and the English once more triumphed. The Jesuits heard the tidings with consternation, and sent horsemen off to Mocrib to announce it; the old machinery was set at work, with the old result. For some time this battle went on—the emperor issuing contrary decrees under the influence of new gifts. The Jesuits had more to offer, and understood the Mogul better; they and their native ally Mocrib at last prevailed, for Hawkins had no longer the means of competing with them in costly presents. The emperor acted as if he played one off against the other in order to extort gifts, or as the women of an Eastern harem, who dispense their smiles and exert their court influence under the influence of some gaudy piece of apparel or pretty instrument of pastime. It is probable that Hawkins—such was his address, so considerable were his resources, and so entire his devotion to his object—would have distanced all his competitors in the race for royal favour, had not the prince minister, Abdul Hassau, been his mortal foe. This officer of state had the power to regulate the place occupied by the notables at court; those only were admitted within the red rails who were the objects of especial favour, such as Hawkins had been before Mocrib regained influence at court. After that period the premier carefully excluded the British captain, who by that circumstance was debarred the opportunity of speaking on court days to the emperor.

Hassan also adopted a cunning method of curtailing the income which Jehanghire had attached to Captain Hawkins. He could not, indeed, refuse to assign territory of the nominal value, but he designated a portion of country that was lawless and disturbed, and where the revenue could only be collected at an expense which made the estate of little value. Thus matters went on for two years and a half, and Hawkins perceived that his residence at Agra could no longer be useful to the company or his country. On the 2nd of November, 1611, he withdrew, not only without attaining his object, but under stinging insults; Jehanghire informing him, through the minister, that it did not become the dignity of the great Mogul to send any communication to a prince of such mean estate as the King of England. Hawkins returned to his country dispirited, but his address and zeal were appreciated.

The last expedition had not been long out before the company dispatched two ships, the *Ascension* and the *Union*, with an invested capital of £33,000. The command was given to Captain Alexander Sharpey. Cambay, and more especially Surat, was the object of this little squadron; the year of its departure was 1607. After encountering tremendous storms while doubling the Cape, the two ships were separated. The *Ascension* never met her consort again, but made her own way along the eastern coast of Africa on to Pemba. During her way thither she was twice attacked by the Moors, and lost several of her men. The sufferings of her crew from bad weather and insufficient food had nearly exhausted them, when fortunately they met with a group of uninhabited islands,* where there were delightful water and abundance of cocoa-nuts and turtle. They then proceeded to the Red Sea, and at Mocha and Aden were well received. They went up to Socotra, where they again took in provisions. At last they arrived at Diu, and were about to cross the Gulf of Cambay for Surat, but were reminded of the dangers of the gulf, and recommended to take in a pilot, which the master obstinately refused to do, and the result was that the vessel, striking repeatedly, was wrecked. The crew was saved by the boats, and, making for the river of Surat, were intercepted by various obstacles, and compelled to enter the Godavery. This change of purpose saved their lives, for the Portuguese at Surat had made ready for their destruction. It will be recollected that Hawkins, in expectation of this ship,—of the dispatch of which the agents of the company had contrived to apprise him,—redoubled his exertions at the court of Jehanghire to obtain a firman for free trade. By this means the Portuguese of Surat became aware of its intended enterprise, and resolved to defeat it by the destruction of the crew and the capture of the ship and cargo. The crew, however, all escaped, some made their way to Goa, whence they were deported without mischief being done to them; the rest arrived after perilous travel at Agra, where, under the protection of Hawkins, they were secure, and were by him sent home through Persia.

The consort of the *Ascension*—the *Union*—was not lost, as the crew of the former reported at Agra to Hawkins. The mainmast had sprung, but the diligence and skill of the sailors repaired the disaster, and the ship reached St. Augustine, on the Island of Madagascar. Thence she reached Zanzibar, but was attacked by the natives, and some of the crew were slain. She again made for Madagascar, where sickness weakened the crew, and the natives attacking slew several of them. They then proceeded to Arabia, but so uncertain were the purposes of the captain, and so little his nautical skill, that he feared "to tread the mazes of the Arabian Sea," and steered for the long voyage to Sumatra. Acheen and Priaman were reached in safety, and a cargo of pepper was taken up on excellent terms. The voyage home was as unskilfully conducted as the voyage out, and after a long time unprofitably and foolishly spent, the ship arrived in safety in the British Channel. Even there its ill-fortune pursued it, for it was so badly navigated that it ran on shore upon the coast of Brittany, where the people plundered it. The ship was a wreck; the crew, seventy-five in number, had all perished except nine, but the company saved the ordnance, fittings, tackle, anchors, boats, and two hundred tons of pepper.

In 1609 Captain *David* Middleton again sailed in command of a single ship, the *Expedition*, which, with its cargo, was worth £13,700. He sailed direct for the Spice Islands, where the Dutch opposed him, claiming the sovereignty of those seas. The captain conciliated the natives, and obtained a fine cargo of spices, disposing of all his own goods profitably. This enraged the Dutch, who determined upon his destruction; and so secure were they of their prize, and so hopeless the escape of the Englishman, that when he made his way through the net spread out for him by his pursuers, and arrived at the English settlement of Bantam in safety, their rage was unbounded.

The company at this juncture were very sensible of the perils to which their servants and their property were exposed from the enmity of the Portuguese, and the commercial selfishness and jealousy of the Dutch, they therefore resolved to build a larger class of ship for themselves than they could charter, and to arm their vessels with heavy cannon; also to send them out strongly manned with able seamen. They formed a dockyard in Deptford, at which many fine vessels were built, superior to those possessed by the English merchants. Early in the year 1609 a vessel of eleven hundred tons—a mighty ship for those days, at all events in English waters—was launched, and received the name of the *Trade's Increase*. King James and his son, afterwards Charles I., presided at the launch, and named the ship. A sumptuous banquet served on China, a rare commodity in those days, honoured the occasion. The construction of so large a ship caused great excitement, for it appears to have been considered a model of strength, and skilful naval architecture. Sir William Monson described it as "the goodliest and greatest ship that was ever framed in this kingdom."

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* These islands are supposed by some geographers to have been the Schelles.

The formation of so great a ship seems to have stimulated the nation, and a great rage for Leviathans sprung up. The company constructed another dockyard at Blackwall, and many vessels of from six hundred to one thousand tons burdens were erected during the thirty years which ensued. The *Royal James* exceeded them all, for it was twelve hundred tons. The government caught the spirited infection of building big ships diffused by the launch of the *Trade's Increase*, and a man-of-war was framed called the *Prince*, of fourteen hundred tons, and carrying sixty-four guns. So great was the stimulus given to ship building by the enterprise of the company, that in about thirty years from that date private builders were able to compete with them, and undersell the company, so as to render it no longer profitable to build any ships, except such as were intended for peculiar traffic.

Soon after Captain David Middleton was sent out, preparation was made for an expedition on a larger scale; and in order that the *Trade's Increase* might take part in it, her construction was hurried on. Early in 1610 the expedition set sail; indeed, before 1609 had terminated the ships and crews were all prepared for the enterprise. There were only three ships in this fleet; but the comparatively enormous size of the newly-launched ship invested the expedition with considerable *éclat*. The command was offered to Captain, now Sir Henry, Middleton, before referred to as having commanded a squadron on an adventure to the Eastern seas. The popularity of the commander gave the public additional interest in the undertaking, and by that time a great confidence had sprung up in the public mind that the company would act independently of the court, and appoint no royal or ministerial nominees to commands, but only known and tried mariners of skill, prudence, courage, and energy. Such was Sir Henry Middleton, and his departure in the *Trade's Increase* was considered "a great day for England." The Portuguese and the Hollanders were deemed likely to meet their match at last, should they obstruct such ships and such a commander. The Spice Islands had hitherto been the source of Eastern trade to English ships. Sir Henry determined to seek in the Red Sea and at Surat a profitable commerce. He doubled the Cape successfully, and sailed without interruption direct to the Red Sea and the port of Mocha, and at first found a most friendly reception. He was invited on shore with every display of hospitality, when he and a number of his officers and men were seized and bound, and sent as prisoners to Suza, the capital of Yemen. The number of the British being seventy-one, and very imperfectly guarded, they made their escape, and once more regained their ships. Sir Henry then sailed down the Red Sea and crossed to Surat. He arrived on the coast of Cambay in 1611, and, on approaching the river of Surat, found its entrance barred by a Portuguese fleet. Captain Sharpey was then in that city, and contrived to communicate with Sir Henry, informing him that Hawkins from Agra, and Fitch then at Lahore, advised that no attempt should be made to transact business on that coast, but to court fortune elsewhere, as the Portuguese, the Jesuits, and the native merchants, were all combined in hostility to the Dutch and English, especially to the latter. Middleton, however, determined not to leave Surat without some attempt to accomplish his mission. While preparing to enter the harbour, he received a letter from the Portuguese admiral, asking him if he brought any letter or credentials from the King of Spain and Portugal; if so, the admiral was prepared to facilitate his objects, otherwise it would be his duty to prevent his entering the port. Sir Henry replied, "That he had no letters but from his own sovereign; that he owed no ill-will to the Spanish or Portuguese nations; that he refused to recognise their exclusive claims, and desired to treat with the Mogul and trade with his people; he would therefore meet force with force." By this time Sir Henry had four ships under his command, but the principal one, the *Trade's Increase* was too large to enter the harbour. The smaller ones proceeded in, supported by the guns of the large one. The Portuguese, who are represented by historians as having twenty sail, drew up in order of battle between the British ships and the shore, with drums beating, colours flying, and the crews uttering loud and defiant shouts, still no shot was fired. The English had, ever since the destruction of the Armada, acquired a high reputation for exploits by sea; and the fearlessness with which Drake and his companions ravaged the coasts of the whole Iberian peninsula, after that event, inspired the Spaniards and Portuguese with a timidity which prevented them combating the English on the waters, except very great superiority afforded some prospect of success. This fear was shown on the present occasion, and was observed with wonder by the Suratians. Middleton's three ships went on nearing the shore, the *Trade's Increase* bearing on as near as it could get, its cannon of large calibre ready to give forth from their yawning throats the dreaded thunder of a British cannonade. The English having gone as far towards the shore as was deemed prudent, one of their vessels let down a boat well armed, which pulled directly for shore. Several of the Portuguese let down their boats, and formed, to intercept and capture it. They were received by a galling fire of musketry, the English sailors firing only at a proximity which gave certainty to their aim, and then with a coolness and steadiness, which not only excited the astonishment of their enemies and of the natives, but the admiration of the latter and of Sir Henry himself. The crews of the Portuguese boats pulled off, and were pursued by the British; other Portuguese boats coming to their assistance were beaten off in like manner, and one of the ships was attacked by the English boat's crew; the frightened Portuguese leaped into the sea, and swam to shore or perished. This vessel was heavily laden with the richest Indian commodities, and proved a welcome prize. The whole of the English squadron then opened fire upon the terrified fleet of the enemy, which sought safety in flight, leaving the approach to the shore clear for the conquerors. The exultation of the natives was openly expressed. Always ready to side with power and with success, they fawned upon the English commander, and freely offered to trade with him. It is not to the honour of Sir Henry that his conduct as a trader was as disreputable as his wisdom and gallantry as a commander were famous. He insisted that such of his stores as were unsuited to the market of Surat should be purchased as well as his more marketable commodities. He all but forced sales with some of the principal native merchants, who, repenting of their bargains, were about, according to the law or custom of Surat, to give him twenty-four hours' notice of the revocation of their purchases, when Sir Henry, inviting the viceroy and his council on board to an entertainment, detained them as prisoners until the payments which the native merchants had stipulated were made. In this way he accomplished his purpose, but his outrageous violence and overbearing demeanour so enraged the viceroy (the enemy of Hawkins), the native authorities, and the native merchants, that a universal indisposition to have anything to do with the English sprung up. The cowardly Portuguese, who cringed and dared not to move a tongue before, now came forth, declaring that the English had proved themselves the pirates and tyrants which they had represented them, and the Jesuits circulated many stories of their own invention, of the piracy and plunder of the English in Europe and in the Spice Islands. The Portuguese fleet, emboldened by the public feeling of the natives, made several attempts to cut off the two vessels near the shore, from the two larger ones, which were anchored at some distance, but they on each occasion "received such entertainment as induced them quickly to retire." The heroic courage of the English, which at first pleased the natives, at last alarmed them, and their rough and unprincipled behaviour as traders disgusted the smooth and deceitful native merchants. A peremptory order from the viceroy reached Sir Henry that he must depart, and that he might announce to his countrymen they would never again be received in Surat. Sir Henry considered himself unjustly treated and "put to great expenses," and vowed that he would have reparation even from the great Mogul.

He sailed along the coast until he arrived at Dabul, where he was well received, but circumstances soon disclosed that fear of his power alone prompted the forms of courtesy; the governor secretly interdicted all trade with him.

He departed from India to the Red Sea. There coming before Mocha he gave such proof of his force and his ability to use it, that the citizens were glad to pay a heavy compensation for the wrongs inflicted upon him when he last visited that coast.

His next exploits were against the ships of the great Mogul. These he stopped, and told their commanders that, "as they would not trade with him by fair means, they must do so by foul." He took what goods pleased him, giving others in exchange to the full value; but he himself dictated the terms of barter; and it is creditable that he did not place too high a value on the goods of others, nor make too low an estimate of the worth of those of the company. One magnificent ship of fifteen hundred tons burden, which the emperor built for the purpose of conveying pilgrims to Arabia, Middleton captured, appropriating all the valuables it contained to the account of the company.

Having thus severely chastised "Portugals," "Gentoos," and "Turks," by sea and land, the captain considered his mission ended in those parts, and directing his course across the Indian Ocean, arrived at the Spice Islands. Here having, unopposed, transacted such business as was open to him, he repaired to Bantam, and took up his abode at the English factory; his fine ship, the *Trade's Increase*, having struck upon a rock, and suffered such damage that she was almost a wreck. From Bantam he sent home one of his ships, the *Peppercorn*, heavily laden with a very rich cargo, under the command of Downton, with the message to the company, that he would follow as soon as he had effected repairs in his ship. He was soon after seized with illness, and died; some writers affirm in consequence of the damage sustained by his noble ship, which was a heavy drawback upon the profit and glory of the expedition. The profit that accrued to the company was, however, estimated by it at 131 per cent. The objectionable portion of Sir Henry's proceedings was not too closely canvassed in England, and his bold exploits were hailed with as much triumph as the tidings of his decease caused deep regret.

During the year 1609, so eventful to the company in building and sending out ships, the favour of King James I. was bestowed in a manner calculated, morally and financially, to strengthen the company. On the 31st of May in that year, by further charter or letters patent, the powers or privileges granted in 1599 for fifteen years, and all privileges, whether renewed or those (in 1609) first granted, were to be for ever. Such a circumstance was well calculated to give a fresh impulse to the ardour of the company, and will account for the extensive operations of that year, and the growing magnitude of the company's designs.

In 1611 the *Globe* was sent out under Captain Hippon, and one Floris, a Dutchman, sailed with him as "a factor." They left England in the first month of the year, and soon after midsummer reached the Island of Ceylon. They ran along the coast from Point de Galle to Negapatam. Not finding that place inviting, they proceeded to Pulicat, where Van Wervicke, president of the Dutch settlements, waited upon the captain, announcing that the king of the territory had given exclusive privilege of trade there to Holland. The captain replied that the patent of the King of England was sufficient anywhere. A quarrel would have ensued but for the interposition of the native authorities, and the English commander, finding that the Dutch possessed complete influence in the native councils, wisely departed. He thence sailed to Patapoli, where he instituted a small factory. From that place he proceeded to Masulipatam, the market for the beautiful cloths known by that designation. The governor there entered into a treaty, which he violated "before the ink was dry," and conducted himself with such falsehood and fraud, that the Englishman charged him with his baseness and duplicity. He replied that a true believer—a descendant of Mohammed—was to be believed before a Christian dog. By menaces chiefly Hippon accomplished an accommodation, and then departed to the British factory at Bantam. Having concerted with the company's officials there, Captain Hippon proceeded to Patane, where he landed in June, 1612, with imposing pomp, "minstrels playing, and flags flying, and bearing the king's letter in a golden box on the back of an elephant." This the commander presented to the queen, who received it graciously, and granted permission to erect a factory, and establish agents there. The captain died at that place, and the officer next in command took the vessel to Siam. Floris, the Dutch factor, had proved himself an able tactician, as he had previously visited those parts in connection with the Dutch East India Company. He declared that at Siam the demand for goods was so great when he had visited it, as the whole world could not be able to satisfy; the English, however, found a great glut of goods, which the activity of the Dutch had created. From Siam the English ship was steered to Masulipatam, where a hospitable reception was given, but a great unwillingness to trade evinced.

In 1611 an expedition was sent out, consisting of three ships, under the command of Captain Saris. Saris sailed at once to the Red Sea, where he found Middleton after his return thither from Surat. The two squadrons formed a junction, and scoured that sea together, capturing or sinking enemy's ships, and forcing trade upon the reluctant. Captain Saris, as well as his predecessor, justified the character given of the English captains to the Great Mogul—that they were sea-robbers, who came to plunder as well as to trade. It must be admitted, however, that but for the injustice and opposition which they met with as traders, they would not have made themselves terrible as rovers. Captain Saris proceeded to Bantam, as did all the English voyagers; thence to the Moluccas, where he found the islands nearly desolated by violence, the native princes carrying on sanguinary feuds in the interest of the rival Dutch and Portuguese, while both had spread the wildest reports about the English, and were ready 'by all means to circumvent or to destroy them. The proceedings of the captain at Japan, under the auspices of Adams, were given on a former page. This expedition returned home in great triumph, laden with the "spicy treasures of the East," fine calicoes, various drugs, and other commodities which then entered into the trade of Asia with Europe.

The various modes of approaching the centres of Eastern trade having all now become well known to the European nations, especially to the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, the trade henceforth assumed a more regular form. Voyages ceased to be so much of the nature of expeditions. The defence of the commerce of each nation did not depend altogether upon mercantile armaments, nor was it affected so much by mere privateering. The governments of the respective countries guarded their commerce more effectually by royal navies, and made the commerce of the East more a matter of state policy. From these circumstances the accounts of particular voyages become less exciting; the novelty disappears; the commanders cease to be mere rovers, not certain whither they would direct their course, and always on the look out for spoil; nor were they, as before, part pirates, part traders; they set sail for specific destinations, with specific objects; and although well armed, and not unfrequently obliged to use their weapons against professional pirates, or against the ships of rival nations in open war, their intent was more strictly commercial. Mr. Murray, writing of the expeditions of the company's captains, and of the general mode of doing business at home up to this time, observes:—"They had derived an average profit of not less than 171 per cent. Mr. Mill hence draws the natural inference that these had been conducted in a manner decidedly more judicious than subsequent adventures that yielded a very different return. Yet we cannot forbear observing, that many of the cargoes were made up on such very easy terms as their successors could not expect to command. Independently of the fact that whole fleets were sometimes laden with captured goods, trade was often carried on by compulsory means, calculated to ensure a profitable return only to the stronger party. These first voyages, in short, exhibit the profits of trade combined with the produce of piracy. The commerce of India, according to the original plan, was to be conducted on the principal of a joint-stock company, in which the transactions were to be managed by a governor and directors, and a dividend made to the subscribers in proportion to the number of shares. But as the paying up of the instalments upon this principle proceeded very slowly, another arrangement was made, by which each individual furnished a certain proportion of the outlay and received the entire profit arising from its investment. Though the affairs of the company prospered under this system, it was necessarily attended with a good deal of confusion and difficulty, which suggested to the governor and company the expediency of returning to the old method of conducting affairs on the regular joint-stock system. This plan was accordingly adopted in 1612, and on those terms a capital of £429,000 was subscribed, with which the directors undertook, during the next four years, to build twenty-nine vessels, at an expense of £272,000, and to employ the rest of the sum in the investment."

Two years after the victory of Middleton at Surat, Captain Best, with a small squadron, appeared off the coast. He had the address to conciliate the governor of Ahmedabad, and through him obtained important concessions from the emperor. The greatest difficulty the captain found was in the prejudices created by the conduct of Sir Henry Middleton in seizing the pilgrim ship. This the captain condemned, declaring that the British nation could not be held answerable for the unwarrantable liberties of an individual. The death of Middleton of course precluded all possibility of any demand for redress so far as he was concerned. In January, 1613, a firman of the emperor authorized the establishment of English factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambay, and Gogo, with protection for the property and persons of the traders. A custom duty of three and a half per cent. was one of the conditions.

The Portuguese were filled with consternation when those tidings arrived at their factories, and they resolved to frustrate any efforts of the English to take advantage of the firman. They accordingly attacked the two vessels of Captain Best with much more numerous, and, to all appearance, powerful ships, at Sevally, near Surat. This attack was made on the 22nd of October, 1612, and the plan adopted was to open a fire from four large galleons, and under cover of the cannonade a swarm of smaller vessels to bear down and board the British ships. The fire of the galleons was, however, speedily silenced, and many men on board of them slain. The boarders kept a respectful distance, until they saw their galleons repulsed, when they sheered off. The victory raised the valour of the English in the esteem of the natives, which so exasperated the Portuguese, that they renewed their attacks upon the English, whose force had increased to four vessels. Finally, on the 27th of November, after nearly five weeks' conflict, the English ships obtained so complete a mastery, that the enemy abandoned their assaults. The courage of Captain Best and the English was noised abroad along the coasts and far into the interior, and at last its fame reached the emperor at Agra, who involuntarily uttered terms of contempt towards the Portuguese, and admiration of their conquerors. The prestige of the captain's intrepidity, and that of his crews, did much to favour the settlements of English factories on the coasts. An imperial firman, dated the 11th of January, 1613, empowered them to have a factory at Surat, with branch factories at Ahmedabad, Cambaya, and Goa. They were ultimately extended to Ajmeer and Agra.

This gallant officer had opportunity of rendering other services to his country. In 1615 he visited Acheen, bearing a letter from the English king to the sovereign of that place. The captain obtained permission to establish a factory at Tico, in Sumatra, under a custom duty of seven per cent.

A curious incident is related in connection with Captain Best's visit to Acheen. The king is described as a furious and sanguinary person, but so placable to the English, that he sent a request to the British king to send him an English wife, and he would make her eldest son king of all the pepper countries. No daughter of England took advantage of this royal offer, made in a general way, nor does it appear that the English court gave any encouragement to the idea of an English lady ascending the throne of the peppery regions. In 1623 the fickle and fierce prince, who was disappointed of a *fair* queen, banished the English factor, and, to save the appearance of impartiality, drove away the Dutch factor likewise. He afterwards changed his mind, and admitted them again, but they were the objects of his caprice and that of his successors for a long time.

During the gallant and wise services of Best the English company was much impressed with the importance of securing a footing on the shores of Western India, that they might be able to conduct a safe and regular trade thence. They expressed to the court of James their anxiety on this subject, and prevailed on him to send Sir Thomas Roe as his ambassador to the Great Mogul.* They at the same time directed Mr. Edwards their agent at Agra, since the firman of January, 1613, allowed a factory at Surat, and branches from it, to co-operate.

When discussing the social condition of India, reference was made to the mission of Sir Thomas; also in the last chapter, where his opinions, as adverse to forts as means of security to trade, were quoted. The hopes of the English from this embassage were considerable. It was the first instance of an ambassador proceeding directly from the English court to that of the Great Mogul; others, representatives of England,—such as Newberry, Fitch, Hawkins, and Best,—were but the messengers of associations of merchants, bearing letters from the reigning sovereign. Costly presents were placed at the ambassador's disposal, and the English felt assured that the directness of his mission, the value of the gifts he bore, the rank of the ambassador himself, and his address and ability, would combine in producing a decisive effect. "He sailed from Gravesend on the 24th of January, 1615, with Captains Peyton and Broughton, in command of the *Lion* and *Peppercorn*."* He landed in great pomp at Surat in September, where, as an ambassador extraordinary to the Great Mogul, none dared to dispute his free passage.† From Surat he proceeded to Ajmeer.

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* The following notice of the life of Sir Thomas Roe will interest the reader, as his name holds so peculiar a place in Indian history:—"Sir Thomas Roe was born at Low Leyton, in Essex, about the year 1580. His family, which was originally from Lee, in Kent, had for four generations been connected with the city of London. The first of the family who entered into mercantile pursuits was Reynold Roe of Lee, and his grandson, Sir Thomas Roe, was Lord Mayor in 1568, and did good service in suppressing the *Midsummer Watch*, and replacing it by a regularly organized *Standing Watch*, for the safety and police duties of the city: he was also one of the founders and early benefactors of Merchant Tailors' School; he married a daughter of Sir John Gresham, and left four sons, of whom a younger one, Robert, was father to the object of our narrative. The latter was early left an orphan; but although his mother was married again, to a Mr. Berkley of Redcourt, she appears to have done her duty by her son Thomas in a most exemplary manner, and to have taken great pains with his education. Most probably the foundation was laid in the school upon which he had a family claim, but it is more certain that at the early age of less than fifteen he was entered a commoner of Magdalen College, Oxford. Here he did not remain long enough to take a degree, and on leaving it went over to study in Paris. On his return he entered one of the Inns of Court, and was shortly afterwards appointed Esquire of the Body to Queen Elizabeth, just previous to her death. In March, 1604, he was knighted by King James I., and specially attracted the regards of Prince Henry, with whose countenance and support—following the adventurous habits of the period—he undertook a voyage of discovery to South America. With this object in view, he built and equipped, in a great measure at his own cost, a small ship and a pinnace, the command of which vessels he entrusted severally to Captains Mathew Morgan and William White, both experienced seamen, who subsequently acquired considerable celebrity in their arduous profession. Having completed all his preparations, our young adventurer set sail from Plymouth on the 24th of February, 1609, and reached the mouth of the Amazon in the latter end of April. If not the first to discover this noble river, he was one of the first to explore it, having sailed up its course for two hundred miles, and then proceeded above one hundred miles further in boats. From thence he sailed northward and westward, exploring the coast, entering several of the rivers, and tracing their courses, occasionally engaging in expeditions inland, until he reached the Orinoco, having expended thirteen months in examining the coast between the two great rivers. From the Orinoco he proceeded to Trinidad, and from thence, after visiting several of the West India Islands, bore up for the Azores, and returned to England in July, 1611." His commission from the king to the Indian emperor was the next notable incident of his history.—*Calcutta Review*, June, 1857.

The credentials of Sir Thomas are exceedingly interesting, and show definitely the object of his mission. Modern writers give conflicting accounts of the events of this period. Some attribute to Captain Hawkins the permission obtained for the original settlement at Surat, others to Captain Best, and very many to Sir Thomas Roe. The credentials which Sir Thomas received from his own court give the honour of the first successful negotiation to Captain Best, and show that the ambassador was sent to "handle and treat" of the matters in the firman given to Best. Along with the following letter King James sent a draft of a treaty of commerce and alliance for the signature of the emperor, so as to enlarge the firman conceded to Captain Best.

James, by the Grace of Almightie God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Christian Faith, &c. To the High and Mightie Monarch, the Great Mogol, King of the Orientall Indies, of Chandahar, of Chismer (Kashmir), and Corazon (Khorasan), &c., Greeting:—

We, having notice of your great favour towards us and our subjects, by your great firma to all your captaines of rivers, and officers of your customes, for the entertaynment of our loving subjects the English nation with all kind respect, at what time soever they shall arrive at any of the ports within your dominions, and that they may have quiet trade and commerce without any kind of hinderance or molestation, &c., as by the articles concluded by Suc Suff (*Sheikh Suffee*), Governor of the Guzerats, in your name, with our loving subject, Captaine Thomas Best, appeareth, have thought it meete to send unto you our ambassadour, which may more fully and at large handle and treate of such matters as are fit to be considered of, concerning that good and friendly correspondence which is so lately begunne between us, and which will, without doubt, redound to the honour and utilitie of both nations; in which consideration, and for the furthering of such laudable commerce, wee have made choice of Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, one of the principall gentleman of our court, to whom wee have given commission under our Great Seale of England, together with directions and instructions, further to treate of such matters as may be for the continuance and increase of the utilitie and profit of each other's subjects, to whom we pray you to give favour and credit in whatsoever hee shall mouve or propound towards the establishing and enlarging of the same. And for confirmation of our good inclination and wel-wishing toward you, we pray you to accept in good part the present which our said ambassadour will deliver unto you; and so doe commit you to the merciful protection of Almightie God.

It was not until the year 1616 had far advanced that Sir Thomas obtained a firman authorizing the English trade, and then it was so expressed as to afford, in a very qualified manner, the advantages ostensibly conceded. Sir Thomas was obliged to depart in 1618, having no reliance on the firmness or consistency of the monarch; and as he was beset by the same enemies of the English as defeated the diplomacy of Hawkins; Sir Thomas left the court of the emperor far from satisfied with the results of his mission. Nevertheless, the padishaw showed him many tokens of honour on his departure, and gave him a commendatory letter to King James. On arriving at Surat, he found the governor unwilling to act upon the new treaty. He even had the insolence to sneer at the orders and firmans of the emperor. Shah Jehan, afterwards so conspicuous in the history of Indian princes, was at variance with the officious governor. With him Sir Thomas opened a correspondence. The shah was as adverse to the Portuguese as he was to the governor, their friend, and therefore at once entered into the views of Sir Thomas. After a considerable time spent in negotiation with the prince, a treaty was formed confirming all the benefits of the firmans previously granted to Captain Best and to Sir Thomas, together with especial privileges at the port of Surat, and leave to erect a building for the stores and business transactions of the English factors. Emboldened by these concessions, Sir Thomas further negotiated to have inserted in the treaty clauses conferring on the English the free exercise of their religion, the government of their own laws, and the right to wear arms. In return for the last concession, Sir Thomas bound the English resident at Surat to assist the emperor in defence of the port.

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* Murray, with whom is the majority of modern writers.

Taking advantage of the sailing of a fleet of four vessels under the general command of Captain Keelinge, Sir Thomas embarked on the *Lion*, Captain Newport, and finally sailed from England on the 9th of March, 1615; and after touching at Saldanha, and the Comera Islands, in the Mozambique Channel, as also at Cape Guardafui, they reached Socotra on the 24th of August, where they remained a week, and thence steered for Surat, where they arrived on the 26th of September, having followed the usual route adopted at that period.—*Calcutta Review*, June, 1857.

† Murray; Taylor.

On the same day Sir Thomas landed in state, accompanied by Captain Keelinge, the president and merchants of the factory, and "a court of guard of one hundred shot" (*musketeers*) from the fleet, commanded by Captain Harris, whilst "the ships, in their best equipage, gave him their ordnance as he passed." On arriving at a large open tent, prepared for the purpose, he was met by the chief native functionaries of the city, and treated with much outward respect, which did not, however, exempt him from considerable annoyance on the part of the governor, who, by force, searched his chests and packages, and helped himself to whatever he thought fit. After much controversy, and many difficulties, Sir Thomas started, on the 30th of October, for the padishaw's court, which was then established at Ajmeer.—*Calcutta Review* June, 1857.

While at Surat, perceiving that the agents of the company were conducting a profitable trade in the Persian Gulf, Sir Thomas directed negotiations for a treaty with the shah. The English had already established factories on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and even at Ispahan—so active were the company's first agents at Surat. Shah Abbas, the ruler of Persia, had a profound respect for the Great Mogul; and, understanding that Sir Thomas had been received with great distinction at his court, he readily acquiesced in all the suggestions that came from him. The result was a treaty on terms as favourable as those which established the English at Surat.

At the commencement of the year 1619, this renowned ambassador bid farewell to the scene of his difficulties and triumphs. In the month of May he put into Saldanha Bay, where the renowned Dutch admiral, Hoffman, at that time lay. Sir Thomas was as successful in negotiating with the Dutch as he had been with the Hindoos and Persians, for he and Hoffman agreed to write to the factories and stations in the East, enjoining peace and good-will as alone conformable to the wishes of the two governments. They also corresponded with their governments, and did all in their power to pour oil upon the troubled waters. The influence which Sir Thomas exercised over Hoffman was most extraordinary, for he was a man of stern disposition, strong will, and deep nationality. The clear intellect, and pure love of peace, were so conspicuous in the English envoy that he failed not even with the dogged Dutchman.

The arrival of this distinguished negotiator was hailed by the crown, the company, and the country with acclamation, and many honours were shown him. He was appointed a member of the privy council, and chancellor of the Order of the Garter. These were his only recompences from the king, who never continued long to appreciate men of real eminence. He was a royalist, but disapproved of the absolute measures of the Stuarts, to whom his warnings and counsels were in vain. He contributed much to the public welfare by his advice to the company, and to commercial men. On all questions of trade he was regarded as the most able and experienced man in the kingdom. His love of commerce was united to an exquisite taste. He made a very extensive collection of articles of *vertu*. He also collected a vast number of medals. His treasures in art and antiquity he bequeathed to the public. His ideas on foreign politics were moderate and liberal, and his counsels were valued by all the statesmen of the day. He was a good orator, but spoke best on commercial subjects, especially in the House of Commons, to which he was elected; his speeches in the house on the currency were much before his age. He published several pamphlets on monetary, commercial, and political subjects, and left behind him various very valuable manuscripts.*

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* The following brief narrative of the life of this statesman, *after his return from India,* will complete the sketch of his history before his departure to the Mogul:—"Soon after his arrival in England he was elected a member of parliament for the borough of Cirencester, in Gloucestershire. In 1621 he was sent as ambassador to Constantinople, where he remained until 1628, holding the same situation under the Sultans Osman, Mustapha, and Amurath IV., with credit to himself and his country. He was the first English ambassador who was enabled to establish a real and permanent influence at the Porte, and to command respect on all occasions. He secured for the English merchants several valuable commercial and civil privileges, and also by his influence and general advocacy was enabled to benefit generally the condition of all members of the Greek Church. He made a valuable collection of Greek and oriental manuscripts, which he presented to the Bodleian Library, and he brought over the celebrated Alexandrian copy of the Greek Scriptures, which was presented to King James by Cyril, the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, in gratitude for the benefits obtained through the influence and by the agency of the English ambassador. In 1629 he was sent as ambassador to Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, to whom he recommended the plan, adopted in the following year by that monarch, of making his famous descent upon Germany in defence of the Protestant liberties. In acknowledgement of this counsel, Gustavus Adolphus, after his victory at Leipsic, sent Sir Thomas a present of two thousand pounds, addressing him as his *Strenuum Consultorem*, and acknowledging that he was the first who had advised him to undertake the campaign in Germany. He was subsequently employed in negotiations at Copenhagen, and several of the German courts. In October, 1640, he was elected member for the University of Oxford, and in April, 1641, he was sent as ambassador from King Charles to the Diet of Ratisbon, to endeavour to obtain the restoration of the late King of Bavaria's son to the late Palatinate. Here he made so favourable an impression upon

Sir Thomas had difficulties to contend with at Ajmeer arising from his own people, independent of those which arose from the personal character of the monarch, the intrigues of the court, and the hostility of native governors, Portuguese merchants, and Jesuits. One of these was the ill-assortment of the presents sent to the Mogul and his court; another arose from the meanness and parsimony which pervaded the arrangements of his own court and the company in reference to his embassy. These things struck the court of Ajmeer, lowered the English king and nation in their estimation, and provoked some of the insults and delays which he experienced. He was also much embarrassed by adventurous Englishmen at that time in India from various causes. One of these he found it necessary to attach to his own suite, in the hope of preventing mischief. Perhaps the ambassador was too sensitive to such matters; but he was certainly exposed to many *mal apropos* incidents at court, which were calculated to try severely a less composed and self-collected man.

Among others, he was embarrassed by the presence of the most eccentric Englishman of that age, named Thomas Coryate. Some notice of this extraordinary man is here desirable. The remarks of an Indian reviewer are very apposite on the subject of the embarrassment caused to Sir Thomas, by "extraordinary Tom," as he was quaintly and aptly termed in his day. "The circumstance which led to their juxta-position is one of specially Indian interest; their having been strangely and unexpectedly thrown together, nearly two centuries and a half ago, at the durbar of the Great Mogul, exhibiting to the astonished Indian courtiers two extreme varieties of English character, position, and habits, at a time when the name of England was barely known in Hindostan, and every thing connected with Englishmen was novel and apparently contradictory, and when the privileges and position of the stately ambassador and the pedestrian pauper, or 'English fakeer,' were alike incomprehensible to the padishaw, and to those around him."

In order that the reader may be able to comprehend the inconvenience which the ambassador felt from the presence of that other "extreme variety of English character," the following brief outline of his history is given. He was born at Odcombe, in Somersetshire, in the year 1577, and was son of the rector of that parish, who had been a superior scholar and a Latin poet of some merit. Thomas was educated at Westminster school, from which he received a presentation to Gloucester Hall, Oxford. Having pursued his studies there with great success, he became notorious as a scholar and an eccentric person. Partly from his varied and antique scholarship, and partly from personal oddities which seemed strangely associated with so much learning, he was appointed to an office in the household of the Prince of Wales. Fuller says, "Sweetmeats and Coryate made up the last course of all entertainments. Indeed, he was the courtiers' anvil to try their wits upon; and sometimes this anvil returned the hammer as hard knocks as it received; his bluntness repaying their abusiveness." A love of travel seems to have early seized upon him, and neither his interests at court nor any other consideration were sufficient to detain him at home. In 1608 he undertook a journey through the south of Europe. His observations he published in 1611, and called them *Coryate's Crudities gobbled up in five months in France*, &c. &c. &c. After this publication, which made an immense sensation in its way, he issued another, which he queerly titled, *Coryate's Crambe, or his Calwert twice sodden*. A critic describes these books as "crude enough, but not without a quaint originality, curious scholarship, and truthful observation." He speedily undertook another period of foreign travel, "for which he allowed himself ten years, which time he fixed in imitation of Odysseus' wanderings." He set sail from England on the 20th of October, 1612, for the Grecian archipelago, thence he sailed for Asia Minor, and visited the site of Troy, in company with a number of other "roving Englishmen," such as at that time were finding their way everywhere. His companions playfully pretended to make him a knight of Troy, on which occasion he made an oration replete with "out-of-the-way learning and absurdity, which has been preserved among the fragments of his travels and correspondence." He then went to Constantinople, where "he saw every thing, and published what he saw." Thence he travelled to Jerusalem, and the cities of Palestine, with one Henry Allard, another roaming Englishman, whom he picked up on the way. From Jerusalem he travelled into

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the emperor that he publicly said, "I have met with many gallant persons of many nations, but I scarce ever met with an ambassador till now;" and on another occasion, in allusion to Sir Thomas' persuasive eloquence, he said laughingly, "That if he had been one of the fair sex and a beauty, he was sure the engaging conversation of the English ambassador would have proved too hard for his virtue." After his return to England he was unavoidably drawn into the struggle then carrying on between his royal master and the parliament, which embittered his latter days, and is believed to have accelerated his death, which took place on the 6th of November, 1644, at Woodford, in Essex, where he was buried."—*Calcutta Review*, June, 1857.

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFRENCE BOOK

Egypt and other adjacent countries, and into Persia, generally meeting with no unkindness, but at last robbed of everything by a Turkish soldier. From Persia he travelled to India by Yezd, Ghayn, Furrah, and Greshk to Candahar, and from that by Quetta, and the Bolan Pass to Shirkapore. On this last route he met Sir Robert Shirley and his lady, proceeding from India to Persia, on the embassy projected by the London company, at the same time they influenced the court to send out Sir Thomas Roe to India. Sir John and Lady Shirley had known him before, having met him at court, for every one who visited the court knew Coryate. Lady Theresa Shirley made him a present of forty shillings, a very much larger sum, relatively, in those days than at present. Sir Robert complimented him as an author, and said he would bring his book under the notice of the shah, which gratified him more, probably, than if the knight had bestowed all he had upon him; for Coryate was as vain of authorship and of displaying his learning as he was simple and unostentatious in all things beside. From Shirkapore, he made his way to Agra, and thence to Ajmeer, where he arrived a toilworn man, to the amazement of ten Englishmen all transacting business there for the company, except one or two in the service of the Mogul. He found his books well known to his countrymen, which fed his peculiar weakness, and recompensed all his fatigues. This was in 1615. He immediately began the study of the Urdu and Persian languages, although he had already acquired as many as perhaps any other man of the age. "He remained at Ajmeer until the arrival, in the end of that year, of Sir Thomas Roe, whom he had known in England, and whom he was one of the first to greet, going out as far as Chittoor to meet him. Coryate's eccentricities, his love of sight-seeing,—which carried him to every spectacle and ceremony,—his poverty and peculiarities of attire, his temperate habits, and his invariably travelling on foot, had excited the attention of the shah and his courtiers, who looked upon him as a sort of religious mendicant, and generally spoke of him as the English fakeer. The unexpected appearance of such a character, so little calculated to exalt the opinion of English wealth or dignity, was anything but agreeable to Sir Thomas, the more especially as he could not ignore or keep him at a distance, having been well acquainted with him formerly in the Prince of Wales's household. Moreover, knowing him to be a gentleman by birth and education, a sound scholar, the quondam companion and present correspondent of some of the leading men of letters in England, and, above all, being acquainted with the simplicity and perfect innocence of his character, it was impossible to [illegible] him save with welcome and kindness, more especially as he was remarkably touchy regarding the least slight to his vanity. These considerations must naturally have guided Sir Thomas' conduct towards him, which appears to have been kind and judicious. He was quartered in the ambassador's household with his chaplain, and kept as much in the background as practicable. This last part of the arrangement was anything but agreeable to one so imbued with the love of notoriety, and accordingly he determined to bring himself to the notice of the padishaw in spite of the ambassador. Having now sufficiently mastered the Persian language to be able to speak it pretty fluently and correctly, he one day made his appearance at the royal durbar, where he immediately attracted the observation of Jehanghire, who making inquiries regarding him, Coryate stepped forward, and after due obeisance commenced a prepared harangue in Persian, of which he was so proud that he made several copies of it both in the original and the translation, which he forwarded to England." *

Our space does not permit us to give the oration, or the reader would not need to be told that the emperor and his court remained silent for some time in amazement. The astonishment of his majesty was so great at the man, the manner, the oriental learning, the impulses and motives indicated, that he was bewildered, utterly unable to conceive what should be said or done to the orator. The padishaw's surprise subsided into amusement, and this humour being caught up by the court, poor Coryate afforded them much entertainment, and left a general impression that the English were like no other people; their energy in trade, their bravery in war, the astuteness of their negotiators, the adventurous folly of individuals, and the unaccountable specimen which then stood before his majesty in the durbar, produced the impression upon the court that they were a people whose ways were not as those of other men, and of whose doings, individually or collectively, it would be difficult to predicate anything, except that they would be energetically occupied somehow.

The oration of Coryate was the talk of Ajmeer, and the story spread "far and near," to the disquiet and discomfiture of the dignified ambassador, who had already struggled so hard to maintain the dignity of his sovereign and his country. Coryate knew all this, and was delighted, so that he wrote

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* *Calcutta Review.*

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की
NOT TO BE ISSUED

home to his mother the address with which he circumvented his ambassadorial friend, and obtained an opportunity of unfolding to the padishaw the greatness of his learning and of his travels, for he had truly told him, "I traced the world into this countrye, that my pilgrimage hath accomplished three thousand miles, wherein I have susteyned much labour and toyle, the like whereof no mortale man in this world did ever perform to see the blessed face of your maiestie."

The effects which Sir Thomas feared were produced to a far less extent than his cautious temper depicted. The padishaw became intensely pleased with the strange, wild traveller, and gave him one hundred rupees. Several of the courtiers, who persisted in believing him a mad fakeer, also endowed him with presents of rupees. Sir Thomas himself seems to have spared his money, for when Coryate departed on fresh travels he only gave him "a piece of gold of this king's coyne worth foure-and-tweentie shillings." He persisted in travelling into Tartary, although the emperor, solicitous for his safety, personally advised him not to do so, because of dangers from the difficulties of the way and the bigotry of the people. He was compelled to return from illness, brought on by privations and fatigue, and died at Surat, according to a presentiment which led him to rejoin the ambassador. The estimate of the man is just which is thus given:—"With all his weaknesses, there was much that was amiable and manly in Coryate's character, and he deserves a prominent place among the pioneers of British enterprise in the East."

While this eccentric wanderer was traversing Asia, other English adventurers were in jeopardy, and their proceedings were constantly reaching the ear of the Great Mogul. One Withington, an agent of the company, and a party of Englishmen, set out from Ahmedabad to reach a port in Scinde named Laribunda, where three English ships had found their way. The third night of the journey, while in company with a caravan, an attack was made by robbers. The next day our traveller met the Mogul's officer "returning with two hundred and fifty heads of them." The journey was five hundred miles, and the account given by Withington and his companions was far less favourable than that of Sir Thomas Roe. Coryate's descriptions tallied with both according to the district in which he travelled. Withington and his party could not have proceeded a day's journey but for hired escorts of cavalry. Notwithstanding escorts, they were attacked, and compelled to pay ransom. A Rajpoot guide delivered them over on another occasion to a party of marauders, who strangled two native merchants of the party and their five servants. They bound Withington and his attendants, and marched them thirty miles to a mountain fastness. After having been plundered of everything, they begged their way back to Ahmedabad, after an absence of a hundred and eleven days, and innumerable dangers, fatigues, and ill-treatment. The English, when oppressed, urged their complaints upon the emperor, where there were always some courtiers to plead the cause of the wrong-doers, and the ambassador had much to do besides urging the suit for liberty of commerce.

The success of Sir Thomas Roe placed the company's stations on a new footing, altered the relations of the company to the government of India, and materially affected its fortunes. Henceforth all concerned could look forward from a new stand-point, but no idea of territorial conquest crossed the mind of any one whose opinion is recorded, and it is next to impossible that in the settlements they had obtained they had dared to hope for aught but commercial convenience and security. Miss Martineau has well put the fact in connection with this era in the company's fortunes in the following language:—"The English speculators thought of nothing but commerce in settling their Indian plans at home, much more certainly must they have contemplated nothing else when in Hindostan. What they saw there dwarfed everything English in a manner now scarcely to be imagined by us. By degrees the immensity of the territory opened upon them, as they heard of groups of sovereigns, and crowds of chieftains, each with a province, or a district, or a kingdom, or an empire, under his control, and as they found the old Hindoo organization of rulers of ten towns, and a hundred towns, and a thousand towns, commemorated in their traditions. The mere deserted capitals were like the metropolitan cities of Europe fallen asleep. By degrees they learned something of the two deltas of the Ganges and the Indus, where the mere mouths of rivers might constitute fair kingdoms, without including the course of their mighty streams. By degrees their imaginations became able to attains the peaks of the Himalaya, and to comprehend the spaces of the Deccan which were guarded by the Ghauts. The more they learned of Indian magnitudes, the less could they have conceived of having any other than commercial business there. The phenomena of human life and manners were as stupendous in their proportions as the productions of nature. Our first residents at the native courts saw wars made on such a scale that they hardly dared to tell it at home, for fear of the contempt with which their 'travellers' tales' would be treated."

The chief uneasiness now at home arose from apprehensions of a protracted struggle, neither with Mogul obstinacy nor Portuguese arms, but with the brave, energetic, and persevering Dutch; for all the efforts of Roe and Hoffman, whatever effect they produced upon the courts and companies at home, failed to introduce a spirit of conciliation abroad. The English disclaimed all intention of interfering with the Dutch where the right of prior occupation gave the latter a claim upon their forbearance, but the English had no scruples in placing factories near those of their competitors; and this circumstance inflamed the resentment of the Dutch as much as if England made war upon their Eastern settlements. The contest of the two nations in the Moluccas was an instance of this. The Dutch had early formed settlements there, and the English established agencies in the little islands of Puleroom and Rosengen, which belonged to a group occupied generally by the Dutch, although they had no establishments of any kind on those particular islands. The Hollanders "warned the English off," declaring that the sovereignty of the Spice Islands belonged to them, and attacked the English, but were repulsed. They then seized two English ships, and refused to restore them until England withdrew from those islands.

Among the disastrous results of the ill-feeling between the two nations in the East was the massacre, as it has been called, at Amboyna, of which an account will be given in another chapter, relating the progress of the Dutch in India and the Eastern seas, rendering it unnecessary here to make further reference to it than to state that the cruelty and injustice perpetrated there upon the English residents, suspected of conspiracy against Dutch power, so exasperated the English both in the East and at home, that a very general desire sprung up to expel the Dutch utterly from India and the great Eastern Archipelago. English privateers attacked and captured rich homeward-bound ships, unless when convoyed by powerful naval squadrons. The Dutch government felt keenly the expense laid upon it by convoy fleets, and the Dutch merchants and East India Company were mortified intensely as well as injured by those captures. The British were, however, to suffer reverses, which followed each other in rapid succession. The revolution of the Portuguese against the throne of Spain so occupied these two powers, that the Dutch were relieved from nearly all armed competition with these nations, and were enabled to concentrate their energies in repressing the commerce and power of England in the Eastern seas.

In order to give explicitness and clearness to the position and conduct of the English in their relations to the traders and government of Holland during succeeding years, it is necessary to devote an entire chapter to the Eastern history of a people who so frequently crossed our path in the competitions of commerce and colonization, and the sanguinary struggles of war.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE DUTCH IN INDIA AND THE EASTERN SEAS.

THE history of no country, in modern times, supplies a more extraordinary instance of the rise of a small and insignificant province to independence and greatness than does that of Holland. The successful war she maintained for the lengthened period of eighty years, against the most powerful empire in the world, and which terminated in the recognition of the republic by the union of Utrecht, in 1581, is an event which, in its incidents and results, has not been equalled. It has been well described "as an organized protest against ecclesiastical tyranny and universal empire."

From causes, to which are generally due the debilitation of states and their utter prostration, arose the greatness of the Netherlands, and its steady progress, until it became a naval and commercial power; and from its insignificant body extended its far-reaching ambition until it grasped and appropriated innumerable possessions on every side—in Asia, America, Africa, and Australia, subjecting to its rule the Brazils, Guiana, the West Indies, New York, the Cape of Good Hope, a large portion of Hindostan, Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, and New Holland.

A history of India could not be complete which would pass over the enterprising Dutch. Their impress in that quarter, impassive as is its social contour, indurated by its Hindoo compression, will survive; and though not a vestige remain of its military and naval prowess, of its administrative institutions, the produce of the vineyard, planted by those zealous and self-sacrificing Dutch missionaries, Schwartz and Ziegenbalg, will live in this world, and in the next.*

In the *Rise of the Dutch Republic** is given an able summary of the war against Spain, and the circumstances which accompanied it. The part which the English took in it is familiar to every one versed in the history of this country. Here it will be sufficient to say, that when France had rejected the sovereignty of the Netherlands, which the states of Brabant, Flanders, Mechlin, Zealand, Holland, and Friesland, had laid at the feet of Henry III., by a solemn embassy, headed by Peter de Melun, Prince d'Espinoy, 1585,† the Protestant patriots turned in disappointment from the Roman Catholic, who had rejected their proposals of absolute submission, to Elizabeth, the Protestant sovereign of England. To her they also dispatched a solemn embassy, of which John Oldenbarnvelt, or Barneveldt, was a member, for the purpose of soliciting her to become the sovereign of the United Provinces.‡ Though the advantages of the offer were described in language little consistent with the phlegmatic character of the dull burghers, and in colours too vivid for the Dutch, and more in harmony with the Italian school, she apprehended, from becoming a principal in an war against Philip, the invasion by him of her hereditary dominions; and that, by declaring herself the protector of rebels, she would have arrayed against her the avowed or concealed hostility of all the monarchs of Europe. She prudently declined to accept the *absolute allegiance* of "an affectionate and devoted people, whose possession would render England mistress of the seas." To Elizabeth's favourite, the Earl of Leicester, the next *absolute* submission was offered with the crown, but he was haughtily forbidden by his royal mistress to accept the tempting gift. Though excluded from the throne, he had been appointed a governor-general of the United Provinces in Elizabeth's name, and six thousand English troops were placed at his command; and as a security for the repayment of the expenses incurred by England, English garrisons were admitted into Flushing, Rammekens, and Briel, and a place given to the English in the councils of the nation; and henceforth, both by the queen and her deputy, the Netherlands were treated as a dependent province of England.‖

In an early stage of his government, Leicester forbade, by public edict, the transport of provisions or ammunition to any enemy's or neutral country, and all mercantile intercourse by bills of exchange or otherwise between the United Provinces and Spain, France, and the nations of the Baltic.* This impolitic restriction subjected the Spaniards and Portuguese to no inconveniences. They had free access to the ports of England, Ireland, Scotland, Denmark, and the Hanse Towns. In fact, Holland lost a profitable trade, and threw it into the hands of other nations. It is only justice to the foresight of the Dutch to state, that they strongly protested against this impolitic procedure.

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* To the credit of the United Provinces, or rather of the Dutch East India Company, with all their selfish criminality, they were earnest propagators of the Gospel; and wherever they established a factory they also reared a temple to the Lord. At page 57, it has been noticed that the first Protestant missionary was sent to India in 1705, under the auspices of the King of Denmark, and established himself at Tranquebar, then a Dutch settlement, where he founded a church and school. The first Protestant mission was founded in India by Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, a man of erudition and piety, educated in the university of Halle, in Germany. He was ordained by the learned Burmannus, Bishop of Zealand, in his twenty-third year, and sailed for India in 1705. In the second year of his ministry, he founded a Christian church among the Hindoos, which soon extended its limits. In 1714 he returned to Europe, and to the credit of the first of the Georges, kings of England, he was honoured with an audience by his majesty, who took a great interest in the success of the mission. He was also patronized by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The king and the society encouraged him to persevere in his translation of the holy Scriptures into the Tamul language, which they designated "the grand work." In the year 1719, Ziegenbalg finished the translation, having devoted fourteen years to the work. The king did not lose his interest in this primary effort to evangelize the Hindoo after the departure of the missionary. In 1717 his majesty, by letter, assured him that he appreciated "the work undertaken by him, of converting the heathen to the Christian faith," and prays "that he may be endowed with strength and health of body to continue to fulfil his ministry with good success, of which he shall be rejoiced to hear, and ready to succour him in whatever may tend to promote his work and excite his zeal, with an assurance of his continued zeal." After the death of Ziegenbalg, and ten years from the date of the foregoing letter, a second was addressed to the members of the mission by his majesty, in 1725, in which he assures the missionaries that he received with much pleasure the success of their zealous efforts, and requests them to continue to communicate the particulars of their progress (Niecampius's *History Mist.*). The Hindoo converts at Tanjore are also in possession of letters written by Dr. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the same reign, who is reported as having supported the mission with unexampled liberality, affection, and zeal. These letters, which are many in number, are all written in the Latin language. He was president of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The first is dated, January 7, 1719. After the first missionary, Ziegenbalg, had finished his course, he was followed by other learned and zealous men, upwards of fifty in number, in the period of a hundred years; among whom Schultz, Jaenicke, Gericke, and Schwartz, whose ministry has been continued in succession in different provinces. When Dr. Buchanan arrived in Tranquebar, in 1806, he was told by the missionaries that religion had suffered very much there of late years. French principles had corrupted the Danes, and rendered them indifferent to their own religion and hostile to the conversion of the Hindoo, and that European example in the large towns was the bane of Christian instruction.—See Buchanan's *Christian Researches respecting the Hindoos.*

* By John Lothorp Motley. London: Chapman, 1855.

† Davies' *History of Holland*, vol. ii. p. 162.

‡ Ibid., p. 174.

§ Ibid., p. 175.

‖ Ibid., p. 180.

As a measure of reprisal Philip seized on all the Dutch and English ships found in his waters, and several of both countries were in the ports of Spain and Portugal. With the sanction of the queen a number of English privateers were commissioned, and these did not confine their hostilities to the common foe; the Dutch vessels were equally an object of attack, for since the prohibition they were accustomed to trade with Spain and Portugal under Spanish colours; and so severe were their losses, which averaged one million guilders annually, that they sent ambassadors, in 1589, to remonstrate with the queen on the subject. The navigation of the channel was in such peril, that the Dutch vessels trading to the west, were obliged to venture on the dangerous route by the northern shores of Scotland.

Forced by these measures to stretch out into seas with which they were but imperfectly acquainted, they began, amid the experiences of the northern ocean, to despise the terrors of the unknown deep. About this time Italy, for some years, was subjected to a great scarcity, and the Dutch monopolized a large and lucrative trade by transporting thither the produce of the shores of the Baltic. A return of the usually propitious seasons terminated that branch of commerce, and forced the mariners of Holland and Zealand to explore new channels. The extraordinary success of the Portuguese, and of their allies the English, fired their spirit of enterprise, and incited them to seek in distant adventures emulative successes.

The immediate stimulant, however, was a countryman of their own, Cornelius Houtman. This adventurer had resided for some time in Lisbon, and had witnessed the enriching results of the commerce with the East, and held out the hope of very remunerative profits from a trade with the Spice Islands of India. His representations induced nine merchants of Amsterdam to form a company for the prosecution of a trade with the nations of the East.† Four vessels were constructed and equipped for the voyage, and, as the exigencies of the occasion required, the vessels were equally fitted for attack and for commerce. The largest of them was about five hundred and sixty tons.

On the 2nd of April, 1595, they departed from the Texel; on the 2nd of August reached the Cape of Good Hope; and after some delays, in June of the next year they arrived at the Island of Java. The reception which they met with here was not calculated to cheer and compensate for the toil and privations of their protracted voyage. The Portuguese, who had settled in the capital of Java, influenced the native chief to reject their intercourse, and to forbid their trading in his territories. Before they relinquished their designs, they were unfortunately involved in an affray with the natives, and lost several of their crews. In consequence of this loss, aggravated by subsequent illness and hardship, the *Amsterdam* was necessarily abandoned at Bali; to which, on their ejection from Java, the Dutch adventurers had directed their course, and where they were more successful. After an absence of nearly three years, the surviving vessels reached home, laden with pepper, nutmegs, and mace. Their success was celebrated by a general jubilee, though but ninety, out of two hundred and fifty, of their crews were alive.

The beneficial effects of this expedition was felt throughout the provinces. A bold attempt was made to reach China and Japan by a north-east passage, which, though it proved a failure, so far as the original design, resulted in the discovery of Staten Island, and in reaching as far as the Sea of Tartary, the mouth of the river Oby, and some small islands. Through the influence of the court of France at the Grand Porte, they were enabled to form a treaty with the sultan, by which they obtained full liberty to trade with Syria, Greece, Egypt, and Turkey, for all their vessels sailing under the French flag —a liberty which they did not neglect to turn to the best account. Eighty ships of considerable size were dispatched, in 1598,* to

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* Bock, b. xxi. bl. 703.

† At the time that the Dutch commenced their voyages to the East, the crown of Spain was engaged in enterprises of so much importance in other quarters of the globe, and so much engaged in the contemplation of its splendid empire in the New World, that the acquisitions of the Portuguese, now its subjects, in the East Indies were treated with comparative neglect. The Dutch, accordingly, who entered upon the trade to India with considerable resources and the utmost ardour, were enabled to supplant the Portuguese.—MILL's *History of India*, vol. i. p. 24.

* Bock, b. xxxii. bl. 21—23.

Faria thus describes the equipment and progress of this squadron:—"It consisted of eight ships, in which were eight hundred men and provisions for three years. Their admiral was Jacob Cornelius Neque, of Amsterdam. They set sail from that port on the 13th of May, 1598;

the East and West Indies, to Brazil, and to the coast of Guinea, whence they brought back large quantities of ivory and gold-dust. The trade with the north of Europe was not, during these enterprises, neglected. Six hundred and forty vessels arrived from the Baltic, early in the following year, in the port of Amsterdam, freighted with one hundred thousand tons of merchandize, consisting of timber, corn, hemp, tar. In 1599 a blow, which threatened the annihilation of their maritime prosperity, was struck by the youthful successor of Philip of Spain—a blow more severe than was ever inflicted by his father. He arrested all the Dutch ships in his ports, and imprisoned the crews. Such of them as he suspected of having been engaged in the destruction of the Armada, he vindictively and unjustifiably put to the torture, and forced the remainder to work as galley slaves. He punished them as traitors, who had assisted the enemy in fighting against their lawful sovereign. The inhabitants of the Spanish Netherlands were forbidden to trade with Holland and Zealand. These, like most measures suggested by overwrought passion, recoiled on the author; and, as in the former destruction of the fleet, ultimately contributed to the aggrandizement of the Dutch. They, in a very short space of time, fitted out seventy-three vessels of war, manned them with an effective force of eight thousand men, under the command of Van der Duys, and an edict was promulgated, prohibiting the ships, not only of the Dutch but those of foreign powers, from conveying provisions or any other commodity to Spain; and all goods belonging to that realm, wherever found, were declared lawful prizes.

Van der Duys having unsuccessfully attempted to draw from the harbour of Corunna the Spanish fleet, which was there safely moored and protected by artillery, directed his course towards the Canary Islands, and plundered and occupied the largest of them. Gomara shared the same fate. With thirty-six of the fleet he sailed along the coast of Africa, until he arrived at the Island of St. Thomas, which he found occupied by a large body of Portuguese. Pavaosa, the capital, made no resistance. The inhabitants sought refuge in the mountains, and left a rich booty to the victors. Large stores of sugar, ivory, and other wares, fell into their hands. These they conveyed to their ships, and while so occupied they spent the time till they were overtaken by the summer heats. The deadly pressure of the atmosphere, impregnated with pestilence, avenged the conquered. The Dutch in numbers fell victims to their cupidity and improvidence, and amongst the fallen were the gallant admiral and his brave nephew. Although the fleet hastened its departure, it did not escape the danger. Above one thousand perished on the homeward voyage, and in the space of fifteen days not more than six or seven survived, in some of the crews, able to work the ships. One was entirely deserted; one, unable to defend itself, was captured by the enemy; a few were cast upon the English coast; and when they arrived, at the end of the winter, in their native ports, two captains alone survived of the officers of that rank. However, the fear which it inspired imposed on the Spanish monarch the precaution of providing convoys in future for his fleets from the Indus.

The success of the adventure of the few merchants of Amsterdam, in 1595, had raised the hopes of the nation; and the voyage of Van der Duys, disastrous as it was to himself and the crews, in a commercial point was eminently fortunate, and the atmospheric influences, to which all their misfortunes were traceable, could be avoided. Indeed each year added to the importance of the oriental trade, and the public appetite was proportionally increased. By the cautious proceedings of the captains of the Dutch vessels the jealousies which had been created against them by their European predecessors were in a great degree obviated, and alliances had been actually formed with the natives of Banda, and the King of Ternate, and of Kandy, in the Island of Ceylon. The sovereign of Acheen, who had exhibited the bitterest animosity, was induced to send ambassadors to the United Provinces, to convince himself that the merchants from that country trading to the Indian coast and islands were not pirates, as the Portuguese and Spaniards had represented them. The consequence was that a league of amity and commerce was formed, and the Indian prince convinced that his new ally was a nation renowned for its wealth, and desirous of the blessings of legitimate commerce. On the return of this embassy the most favourable reports of the Dutch were circulated, and their future intercourse greatly facilitated.

In the various towns of the United Provinces associations of merchants were formed, and several ships dispatched to the East. These desultory efforts, directed by no common object, and seeking private advantage solely, as might be expected, often ended in loss and

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arrived at Madeira on the 15th; on the 17th at the Canaries, where they took in wine; on the 23rd at the islands of Cabo Verde; on the 29th they were in the latitude of six degrees, and passed the line on the 8th of June—a wonderful swiftness, and to me incredible."—Vol. iii. part ii. chap. iii. sect. i.

disappointment. When one vessel arrived, it too frequently found that it had been anticipated, and that all the disposable commodities had been already secured. The competition had also the effect of raising prices to an exorbitant height, and on the other hand the quantity of wares which were brought back at one time had often the effect of glutting the market. On a large scale were produced such ruinous fluctuations as were so recently witnessed, to the ruin of many English speculators, in our colonial markets, where the scarcity and high prices of to-day were succeeded by the over-abundance and nominal prices of the morrow.

This unsatisfactory state of things, which, if left to itself, would have of necessity superinduced its own remedies, determined the provinces to take the oriental trade under their supervision, and they accordingly resolved all the independent companies into one General East India Company, which for a period of twenty-one years should have the exclusive privilege of navigating east of the Cape of Good Hope, and west of the Straits of Magellan. The company was empowered to make alliances with the sovereigns of India in the name of the provinces, to build forts, and appoint governors, taking the oath to the states.*

This arrangement was hailed with general confidence. The large sum of six million six hundred guilders was raised, and a fleet of fourteen armed vessels equipped, and Wybrand Van Warwyk appointed admiral in command. The prosecution of commerce was not the sole advantage anticipated from this armament; it was calculated, and correctly, as the issue proved, that the concentrated force of the company would be sufficiently powerful to oppose the attacks of the Spaniards, who had from the commencement vigorously endeavoured to put a stop to their traffic. Several encounters took place between the merchants of the rival powers, which usually ended in favour of the Dutch. Wybrand remained five years on this service, and in the year 1606 discovered the island on which he bestowed the name of Mauritius.

Wybrand had scarcely ventured on the deep, when another fleet of thirteen ships was placed in commission, and sailed in 1603, under the command of Stephen Van der Hagen, for the coast of Malabar, the principal seat of the Portuguese in India. Their arrival was hailed by the inveterate opponent of the Portuguese, the Zamorin of Calicut, who readily entered into a treaty of commerce and alliance with them against their old enemies. The terms were exceedingly favourable to the Dutch. In a very short space of time they became powerful, and the Portuguese historian thus accounts for their success:—"They were well backed by the natives, who, tired out with our insatiable avarice, joined with those rebels to expel us." * Early in the year of his arrival Van der Hagen sailed to the attack of Amboyna. The governor, Gaspar de Melo, commanded there. He was compelled to surrender; and to save his honour, as she rashly thought, which was impeached, his wife poisoned him—"a strange government," remarks the author last quoted, "where notorious malefactors were not punished, and an innocent person was so persecuted, that she who loved him took away his life, lest they should take away his honour, who had none of their own." After the capture of the citadel of Amboyna, the Dutch fleet, having divided, a part of it sailed to Banda, and the remainder, nine in number, proceeded towards Tidore. The Portuguese residing there were greatly alarmed at their approach. They were apprehensive of the fidelity of the king, but finding that he was prepared to assist them, they prepared for their defence.

The rivalry of these peoples was influenced by the most virulent hatred. They looked upon each other as tyrants and rebels; and in their mutual eagerness to come to blows they very often overlooked the difficulties they had to encounter. The two first vessels which reached the coast of Malabar met six Portuguese vessels coming out of the port of Malacca, and bound for India. Indifferent to the inequality of forces, they did not hesitate to engage, and maintained the fight all the afternoon, and part of the night. In the morning they renewed it, and thus held it on for eight days continually. The Hollanders were at length forced to seek refuge in the port of Queda, and were, eventually, cast away on the coast of Pegu. Shortly after this encounter three Dutch vessels, on their way from Europe, captured a richly-laden Portuguese galleon at the Island of St. Helena. The captain and most of the men were taken, and treated, the Spaniards allege, with great cruelty, and abandoned on the island of Ferdinand de Noronna. On his way to Tidore, Van der Hagen fell in with two richly-laden carracs: these he boarded, and mastered with very little loss; and having cleared away the artillery and valuables, he burned them to the water's edge. The Portuguese were safely landed, but all the Spaniards found on board were put to death, which was the general practice.

Although the Kings of Tidore and Ternate were at variance, both so detested the Portuguese, that they entered into an alliance with the Dutch to expel them as a common enemy. Siege was then laid to the citadel of Tidore, in their possession. It was carried by storm, and the Portuguese driven from the island. They were forced to quit the Moluccas, with the exception of one small fort, which they retained. Through the interference of the Dutch, all differences were settled between their allies, and resident factors settled at Tidore, under the protection of the native sovereign. Andrew Furtado was sent to recover these islands, and consumed five years to no purpose in the attempt.

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* *Groot Plakaalb*, decl. i. bl. 529.

* Faria.

In 1605 a fleet of thirteen ships sailed for India, under the command of Admiral Maatelief, and having arrived at Malay, entered into an alliance with four kings then reigning in Johor, the descendants of princes who had been driven from their territories by the Portuguese; with their aid he undertook the siege of that city. His native allies rendered him little or no assistance. The insufficiency of his troops induced the Dutch admiral to turn the siege into a blockade. In the fourth month the viceroy of India, Don Alphonso de Castro, came to its aid. His fleet consisted of fourteen galleons and twenty smaller vessels, carrying three thousand seven hundred men. At his approach the Dutch retired on board their vessels, and prepared to give the enemy battle. Their fleet consisted of eleven, which, Faria states, exceeded the Portuguese ships in strength, swiftness, number, weight of metal, and skilfulness of gunners.[*] Three ships perished on each side, with a loss, says the Dutch historian Grotius,[†] of eight men killed, while a considerable number suffered on the other side. Faria says the loss was nearly equal, but admits the damage was greater on his side.[‡] He mentions several deeds of daring; the principal one of which is that of De Noronna, who boarded the Dutch admiral's flag ship, and both vessels being in danger of being burnt, they parted with the mutual understanding never again to encounter. In August a second naval engagement took place, in which the Portuguese had the advantage. After eight days' fighting, the Dutch at length fled, and the Portuguese entered Malacca, which had been destroyed during the siege. Contrary to the advice of several, the viceroy here divided his fleet; seven galleons were sent to meet the outward bound fleet, which was expected at the Island of Nicobar; five more were sent to protect the ships of Java, which had brought provisions to Malacca, through the Strait of Singapore. These having met the Dutch fleet, retired before them into the port. They were attacked by a superior force of the enemy, and the whole squadron was destroyed. The Dutch lost five hundred men killed.[*] De Castro soon after died, it was reported through grief for this defeat.

The advantage thus gained was overbalanced by the loss of Tidore, from which the Dutch were expelled, and all hopes of ever making a settlement in these islands destroyed. Victorious in this quarter, they hastened to the invasion of Ternate, and drove from his capital the sovereign of that kingdom, who had faithfully adhered to the Dutch. Maatelief lost no time in succouring his ally; he sailed to the Island of Malacca, fortified that town as a stronghold, and having secured the king assured him of his protection. Thence the Dutch admiral sailed to Bantam, whence, having refitted his fleet, he returned to Europe, bringing with him ambassadors and presents from the King of Siam to Prince Maurice, and three vessels richly laden with eastern spices.

The encouraging reports of these successes in the East brought by each arrival, effected a complete revolution in the feelings and hopes of the Dutch. They were no longer content with the cultivation of their commerce and the preservation of their rights; nor with the limited territories which, with laborious and persevering toil, they had rescued from the ocean. In the struggle which they had so nobly sustained against the colossal power of Philip II., they became cognizant of their strength, and in the continued conflict they acquired a greater development and greater confidence, and their schemes of aggrandizement became the practical questions of the day. Nothing less than an extensive and predominant empire by land as well as by sea, could now satisfy their newly-awakened ambition. Wealth, glory, and conquest, lately so irreconcileable to their sober calculations, were now thought of as the only pursuits worthy of their exertions.

The conduct of the King of Spain contributed still further to stimulate these dangerous elements. He promulgated an edict, "forbidding any foreigner to engage in the trade to the East and West Indies, on pain of death." The effect produced by this would-be prohibition was quite the reverse of that intended. A West India Company was projected—England having, shortly before this, furnished a precedent. The objects it proposed to itself were far more extravagant

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[*] *The Portuguese in Asia*, vol. iii. pt. ii. c. vi. sec. 16.

[†] Lib. xvii. p. 792.

[‡] Faria, vol. iii. pt. ii. c. vi. sec. 15.

[*] Faria, ibid.

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than those embraced by its predecessor, the Dutch East India Company. In addition to the cultivation of a profitable trade, it was seriously proposed to realize a civil and military organization of the natives of the West Indies and America, which, supported by the fleet, would be able to overcome and expel the Spaniards from their acquisitions in the New World; and if this could not be accomplished, to wage war on the detested power in those distant regions, the most vulnerable part of its extensive dominions. The warlike and enterprising spirit of the phlegmatic boor was now far in advance of that of the leaders; and Barneveldt, foreseeing the consequences to a province deeply indebted,—with the ordinary resources exhausted, with a new generation, the inheritors of a war which owed its origin to an age now terminated,—sought earnestly and eagerly for peace. To his proposals were opposed the merchants, East India adventurers, the new projectors, and a party of equal influence with any of them—the reformed clergy, whose worldly interests and convictions were equally involved in the settlement. These had enforced as an axiom, "that a just and equitable peace with Spain was wholly impossible, and that the sole object of all her negotiations was merely to reduce the provinces again under her yoke, and to extirpate the true religion." * The fact is now transparent, that the best interests of the United Provinces demanded a cessation of this bequeathed war; and that the parties opposed to Barneveldt forgot the country in the consideration of their selfish ends. The Spaniards, wearied by a forty years' prosecution of the war, were equally sincere in their desire for peace. The archduke, a churchman advanced in years, was entirely opposed to a war which inflicted so much misery on his subjects; and Spain herself was financially reduced to the lowest ebb. Her exhaustion is thus graphically described in a letter from Sir Charles Cornwallis, the English ambassador in Spain:—"The public treasury was drained; the revenues and customs mortgaged for former loans; credit annihilated; every device for raising funds, by debasing the coin or other means, come to an end; the nobility poor and overwhelmed with debts; the merchants plundered, impoverished, and discontented; and the people, reduced to the extremity of necessity, and even of starvation, were ready at any moment to break out in revolt."† It was from the archduke, indeed, the first proposal for an accommodation came, and John Neyen, a Franciscan monk—who, even from the Dutch, acquired the character of uniting to courteous manners and insinuating address a considerable portion of straightforward simplicity, boldness of speech, eloquence, skill, and long experience in affairs *—was sent as his representative. They were treated in the quality of free provinces and states, over which the archduke had no pretensions. Although this point was graciously conceded, no such facility was exhibited when the right of continuing their commerce with the East came to be considered. The Dutch insisted on its continuance, on the grounds that a thing lawful in its nature, and not declared unlawful by any express act, was of itself free to every one, without permission asked or granted; and they said that the King of Spain could not, even before the war and while they were his subjects, have sought to restrict, with any colour of justice, the exercise of that right. Richardot, on the part of Spain, retorted that the king would neither surrender his sovereignty over the provinces, nor permit any traffic with Spain, if this point were insisted upon. Some of the deputies inclined to the Spanish view of the matter, and thought the Indian trade would be beneficially exchanged for the more accessible trade of Spain; by the great majority it was looked upon as indispensable to the prosperity of the provinces. They pointed, and with considerable effect, to the hundred and ninety ships and above eight thousand men, and the annual return of forty-three millions guilders. Prince Maurice and Barneveldt were equally energetic in the preservation of the Indian commerce. The former, because he calculated that on this point there would be no agreement, and that the rupture of negotiations would promote his private and selfish ends. It was while these discussions were pending that Maatelief returned, as has been related, with shipments of spices; and the reports which circulated of his success rendered the Dutch less disposed to listen to any proposals, having for their aim the loss of such anticipated treasures as were reckoned on from the East. The next stipulation, the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, was as obnoxious to a large body as the surrender of the right of navigation to the Indies. The English were not indifferent actors in these proceedings; and to their intrigues was in no small degree due the fact that these negotiations were broken off in high displeasure, and the Spanish ambassadors took their leave of the states with expressions of mingled regret and reproach. Shortly after, through the mediation of France, a truce for twelve years was concluded under

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* Davies' *History of Holland*, vol. iii. p. 407.

† Wenwood's *Memorial*, vol. ii. p. 65.

* Davies' *History of Holland*, vol. iii. p. 411.

the guarantee of that power and England,* by which the United Provinces were treated as independent and sovereign states, and mutual free trade established between the parties on very liberal terms, so far as the European dominions of Spain were concerned: the provinces were rigidly excluded from trading to any port belonging to that power in any other quarter of the globe without special licence; but by a secret article the King of Spain was bound not to offer any obstruction to the freedom of trade to India; and the guarantees† declared that they should consider any such obstruction an infraction of the treaty. These and the other very favourable terms conceded by their former imperious rulers raised the Dutch to such a status amongst nations that henceforth we shall find their friendship and alliance emulously sought by the greatest powers in Europe. This truce, which extended to Asia, Africa, and America, was settled in 1609. For some years subsequent to this treaty the Dutch and Portuguese seldom came into collision. Faria incidentally mentions that, in 1613, Michael de Sousa Pinmintel was in the Chinese waters, having four galleons under his command, and that John Cayado de Gamba, with three others, was sent to join him, to protect the Portuguese trade against the Hollanders, who were very strong in those seas;‡ that Francis Lopez Calleyros brought into Malacca a Dutch pink that had captured a rich Portuguese ship; that great dissatisfaction prevailed in India towards the close of the year, in consequence of the non-arrival of the ships from Portugal which were expected, in order to oppose the English and Hollanders; and that Hierome d'Almeida, on his return homewards, "encountered four *mighty* Holland ships, with which he ventured a conflict with much equal courage and loss. The Dutch admiral was sunk, and the Portuguese were set on fire." In the following year, through the intrigues of their rivals, the Dutch were expelled from their factory at Vizapore. At this time the fleet, the arrival of which had been delayed, reached Goa. One out of the five ships was lost, and of the three thousand soldiers, who were shipped aboard these vessels, not half the number survived the voyage. This was a great disappointment to the Portuguese, whose increasing difficulties demanded all the aid that could be sent from home. Their homeward-bound vessels were equally unfortunate: one was cast away at the Maldive Islands; another at the Island of Fayal, with the loss of two hundred men; and the third alone arrived at Lisbon.

These disasters did not dispirit the Portuguese viceroy, Sidrome de Azevedo. With the small unaided force at his command, he sailed to the north to oppose both the Dutch and the English, who were strong in these seas. He landed, and laid waste the lands of Cifundam and Diva. The towns of Baroch and Gogo were plundered and burnt, and six ships which were found in that bay. Patane shortly after consigned them to the flames. This squadron, which carried fourteen hundred Portuguese, and a large artillery force, made an attempt to capture four English vessels in the harbour of Surat. The attempt terminated in their own discomfiture. Three of their vessels were set on fire, and the English escaped with impunity.

In the year 1617 an English fleet, cruising near the Cape of Good Hope, intercepted the Lisbon fleet, and exacted seventy thousand crowns for this attempt, and alleged injuries done to the vessels, and in addition twenty thousand ducats, which were divided by the English admiral among his men. The Portuguese admiral, on his reaching Goa, was secured by the viceroy, and sent home a prisoner.

In consequence of some serious differences which arose about this time between the Dutch and English, which will be treated with due consideration in a future chapter, mutual distrusts were created, which gave occasion to the foundation of Batavia. This town was erected by the Dutch general, John Pieterson Coen, in 1619. It is a large and strongly fortified seaport on the north coast of the Island of Java, and the capital of the Dutch settlements in the East. It is situated on the banks of the Jacatra, in a swampy plain, at the bottom of a very spacious and convenient bay, and as a place of commerce enjoyed superior facilities. It laboured under one great disadvantage—its insalubrious situation.* The harbour is rendered perfectly secure at all seasons by fifteen or six-

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* In giving this guarantee the English ministers went beyond their instructions; and it was only the wish not to disavow their proceedings, and not to prevent the negotiation being concluded, that prevailed on James to confirm their act.

† *Neg. de Jeannin*, tom. iii. pp. 380, 475, 477; tom. iv. p. 8.

‡ Faria, *Portuguese in Asia*, vol. iii. p. 11. chap. xi. sect. x.

§ Ibid, sect. xv

* This evil has been remedied. The late Baron Capellau, one of the most enlightened governors ever sent out by the Dutch, sensible of the superior advantages which Batavia possessed as a place of trade, adopted effective measures for its improvement. He widened several of the streets, filled up several of the canals, cleansed others, demolished useless fortifications, cut down trees, and adopted other sanitary reforms, and, by the introduction of several judicious regulations, has rendered it as healthy as any town in the island.

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